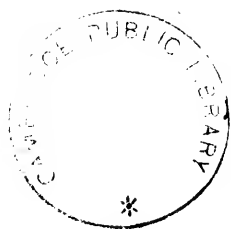
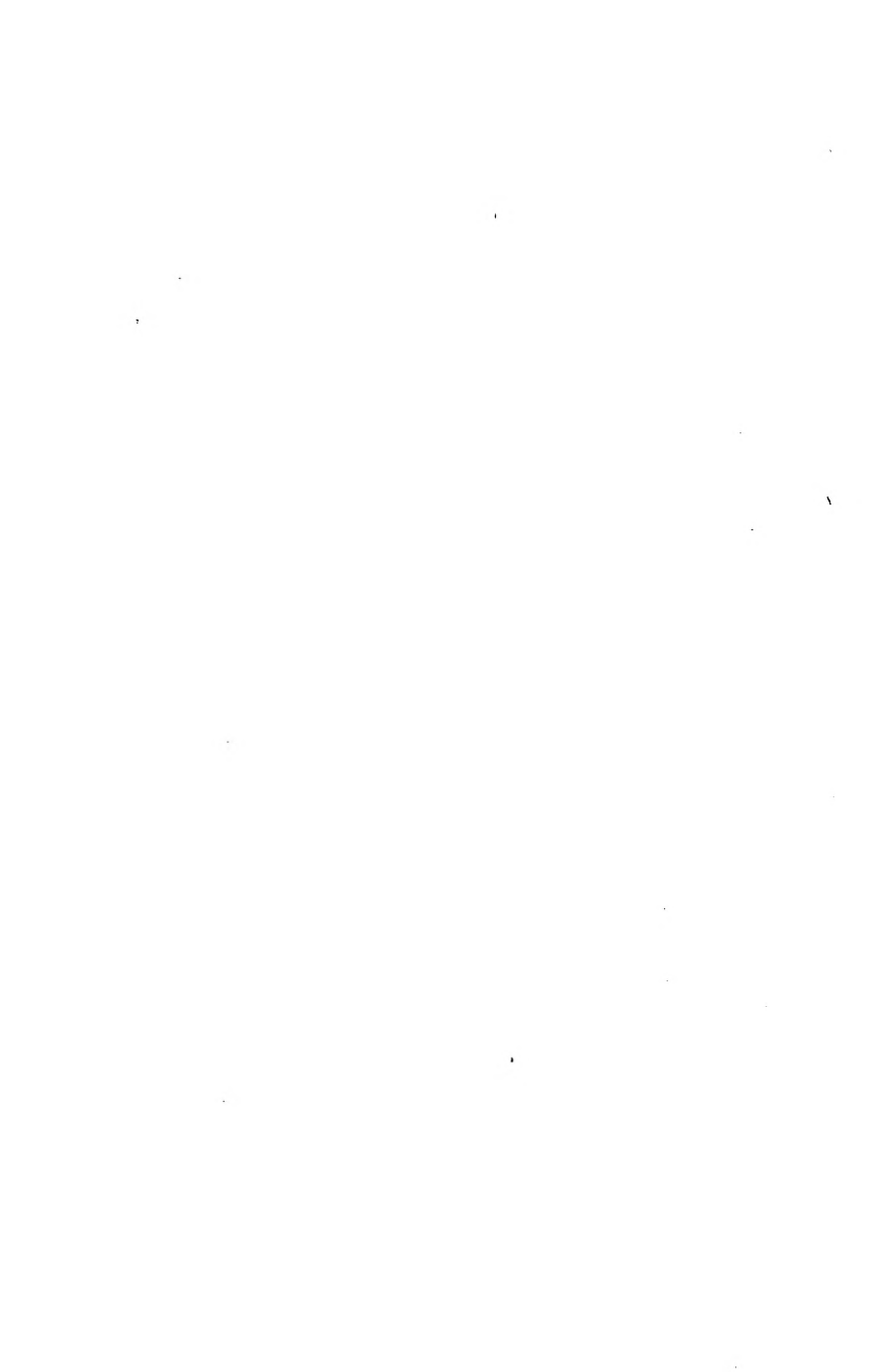


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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Nova Scotia Historical Society,

FOR THE YEARS 1879-80.

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VOLUME II.

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HALIFAX, N. S.

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## INTRODUCTORY.

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The Committee of Publication take pleasure in being able to present the Society with the second volume of the Collections. For the reasons mentioned in the preface to the first volume, they regret their inability to annotate as they would wish, the text of the documents herewith submitted. Judicious notes add much to the value of documentary works of all kinds, but to be of value they can only be prepared in a large reference library, which we regret to say is only in process of formation. However, difficulties from this source are not to be apprehended in the future, and the completion of the programme of the Society, will give us, we trust, a library really worthy of the Province.

This volume contains a variety of papers, the first relating to events in Nova Scotia, growing out of the American Revolution; the next on the First Council by T. B. Akin, the Record Commissioner; a continuation of the Rev. George W. Hill's paper on St. Paul's Church; the Journal of John Witherspoon, a paper throwing much side light on the condition of this Province, as well as the closing acts in the struggle between France and England for supremacy in North America; a memoir of the Rev. James Murdoch, by Miss Eliza Frame, of Shubenacadie; and the papers on the Acadians obtained from the Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown collection in the British Museum, through the kindness of our Record Commissioner. We venture to say that no papers ever given to the public on the Acadian Expulsion will surpass in interest those herewith submitted. They give the story of the expulsion as told by the men who both witnessed it, and helped to carry

12-24-43

it out. More than that we have under their own hands their vindication.

In printing this volume the orthography of the original documents has been adhered to, and the notes of Dr. Brown and Dr. Cochran have their initials; those of the committee have no mark to designate them.

The Annual Report of the Corresponding Secretary as to the condition, accessions and work of the Society during the past two years, will be submitted at the annual meeting in February next. In the future, the "Collections," as in this volume, will be printed as a separate work.

The committee in conclusion beg to call the attention of the members to the mass of papers still on hand awaiting publication, and to suggest the formation of a publication fund.



## OBJECT OF COLLECTION.

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1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers, old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and the war of 1776 and 1812; biographical notes of our pioneers and of eminent citizens deceased, and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Diaries, narratives and documents relative to the Loyalists, their expulsion from the old colonies and their settlement in the Maritime Provinces.

3. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues, minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and all other publications relating to this Province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

4. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

5. Information respecting articles of Pre-Historic Antiquities, especially implements of copper, stone, or ancient coin or other curiosities found in any of the Maritime Provinces, together with the locality and condition of their discovery. The contribution of all such articles to the cabinet of the society is most earnestly desired.

6. Indian geographical names of streams and localities with their signification and all information generally, respecting the condition, language and history of the Micmac, Malicetes and Bethucks.

7. Books of all kinds, especially such as relate to Canadian history, travels, and biography in general, and Lower Canada,

or Quebec in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

8. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced,—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the best of our ability.

9. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliments of authors and publishers, to present with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its library.

10. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines, and reviews will confer a lasting favor on the Society, by contributing their publications regularly for its library where they may be expected to be found always on file and carefully preserved. We aim to obtain and preserve for those who shall come after us, a perfect copy of every book, pamphlet, or paper ever printed in or about Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

11. Nova Scotians residing abroad have it in their power to render their native province great service by making donations to our library of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, &c., bearing on any of the Provinces of the Dominion, or Newfoundland. To the relatives, descendants, &c., of our colonial governors, judges and military officers, we especially appeal on behalf of our society for all papers, books, pamphlets, letters, &c., which may throw light on the history of any of the Provinces of the Dominion.

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OF THE  
NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
ELECTED MARCH 14TH, 1881.

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## AN ACT

To provide for the Amalgamation of the Library of the Nova Scotia Historical Society with the Legislative Library and the Management of the Joint Collection.

[Passed the 10th day of April, A. D. 1881.]

Be it enacted by the Governor, Counsel and Assembly as follows:

1. The Library of the Nova Scotia Historical Society shall be amalgamated with the Legislative Society of Nova Scotia, and the regulation and management of the Joint Collection and any additions that may be made thereto is hereby vested in a commission of nine persons to be called the Nova Scotia Library Commission, of whom the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province for the time being shall *ex officio* be one, and the remainder of whom shall be appointed annually, one half by the Nova Scotia Historical Society and the other half by the Governor in Council.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor for the time being shall be *ex officio* the President of the Commission.

3. Should the Nova Scotia Historical Society at any time fail to appoint any or all of the Commissioners whom said Society are hereby authorized to appoint, the rights and powers vested by this Act in the Commission shall devolve upon the other members of the Commission.

4. The Librarian shall be appointed by the Governor in Council, and shall be such person as the Commissioners shall nominate, and shall hold office during good behaviour.

5. The Commissioners may make bye-laws from time to time for the regulation and management of the Library and prescribing all matters necessary for the control thereof, but such bye-laws shall not go into force until approved by the Governor in Council.

6. The Commission shall make an annual report of the expenditure, the general state of the Library, and on all such matters in connection therewith as may be required by the Governor in Council, which report shall be laid upon the table of each branch of the Legislature during the session.

## PROPOSALS FOR ATTACK ON NOVA SCOTIA.

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THE proposals to the Government of the State of Massachusetts for an attack on Nova Scotia is unquestionably a production of John Allan, a native of this Province, and a son of William Allan, Esq., late of Cumberland, and well known to the early settlers of that County. No man can peruse carefully our own records and those of the State of Massachusetts, as well as those at Washington, without at once coming to the conclusion, that John Allan, of Cumberland, did as much harm to the British as almost any man in the Revolution. His energy, determination and pluck helped very materially to save to the United States a large part of the territory now comprising the State of Maine, and had his proposals been entertained the original States might have consisted of fourteen. The weak and defenceless condition of Halifax at the time the proposals were made is a matter well known to all students of our history, and a much smaller force than that proposed might have captured the Province. Col. Allen, while desirous of harming the English in every way possible, dissuaded Capt. Jonathan Eddy from attempting the invasion of the Province, seeing that he had under his command only a handful of men, without artillery or supplies of any kind. This last statement is made as a correction to a note in our last volume, which stated that Col. Allen accompanied Eddy to Cumberland.

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### SOME PROPOSALS FOR AN ATTACK ON NOVA SCOTIA, WITH SOME OTHER OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE PROVINCE, LAID BEFORE THE HONORABLE COUNCIL OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE.

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Three thousand men with provisions and ammunition, cannon for the siege of Fort Cumberland, eight armed schooners and sloops for the expedition.

Fifteen hundred men to proceed up the Basin of Menas, 500 of which to go on to settlements at the head of Cobequide Bay, in order to take the road that way for Halifax; 750 go on to the Landing at Windsor, or up the river St. Croix; 150 of which to invest Fort Edward, at Windsor, the others to proceed for Halifax, which with that party by Cobequide, will join within about 14 miles from Halifax. Fifty men to be left at Partridge Island to secure that ferry. Two thousand to land near the town of Cornwallis, in order to march through the settlements to secure the disaffected, then to join those

left at Windsor, there to make necessary preparations for a retreat, or succor those gone to Halifax. By this operation all the avenues to the Capital by land will be shut up from the country. Various may be the methods for entering the town, what may be best will be judged of, when on the spot, though I cannot perceive any obstacle in immediately entering the town, and in order to make the matter more sure and less dangerous could two or three armed vessels, with a number of men lye in some adjacent harbor to Halifax, and an intelligence could be easily communicated for them to run into the N. W. Arm, which runs on the Coast of Halifax, it must put them into such hurry and confusion that the town might be earried with very little trouble. Should it so happen that our people could not take possession of the town by reason of any fortification on the road, or otherwise deterred, the town and naval yard might be easily destroyed. As to the latter, there is no fortification seaward, it has been generally conjectured that an enemy would attack it by sea, and there being a necessity of keeping clear for the reason of heaving down ships. Their only strength is the shipping which lies abreast of it, and seldom above one. In this situation a number of men might very easily, in the night, land from boats, and should an alarm be given, the men-of-war dare not fire as their men would be as much exposed as the others.

Should it not be practicable to get in with the army, or even destroy it as before mentioned, the dividing this part of the country from Halifax must soon bring them to conditions, as their whole dependence for necessaries is from this part. Even a small measure of this kind would be of great service to distress the enemy, for a short stagnation of business will for some time after be severely felt. After matters were done there, they might easy retreat to Cumberland, if thought most expedient, as also any familys who might be suspicious or afraid of difficulty from the king's troops.

The rest of the troops I would have proceed up Chegneito Bay to the River Memramcook. I doubt not but Fort Cumberland could be easily taken by surprise, notwithstanding what has happened, but should it not, the dif't avenues must be guarded, and the disaffected secured. Artillery, if necessary, can be easily conveyed to a proper place for use, by many ways, either sea or land. Any armed vessels after this to proceed up Cumberland Bay, where they may lie a



sufficient distance to prevent any hurt from the cannons at the forts, and secure from any vessels of greater strength than themselves. This would prevent any escape from the garrison by water, or any assistance going to them. Two armed vessels, to cruise between Island St. John and Bay Verte, would be necessary. I think from the operations of Captain Eddy, that Fort Cumberland will be as difficult to take, if not surprised, as any part. However, I am persuaded that if this plan could be pursued, the whole province would fall very soon from the British power.

This plan is proposed, supposing that none of the inhabitants would join, but lye inactive. But I doubt not but that they will act, which, if the case, a number not short of 1600 distributed, in proportion as before mentioned, would fully answer the purpose. In regard to magazines and stores, the River St. John's is most essential part for one place, where a number of men should be stationed to prevent the enemy from cutting off the communication between Nova Scotia and New England, and open a communication into Canada, which I am somewhat afraid they will attempt to do the ensuing summer; there is many advantageous places on this river to secure any stores; the lakes and rivers which run from its exterior within 6 miles of Miramichi, near Bay Chaleur, and within 7 miles of one of Cumberland rivers. The river itself goes within 44 miles of the River St. Lawrence, near Quebec. But Fort Cumberland is the most suitable for the diff't operations throughout the province, it having the greatest command over the distant parts; it lyes near the centre, and from its situation is of great consequence in the present plan or of any other which might be carry'd on in that province. There is many other matters might be observed, but presume a suff't is said to give satisfaction.

An objection may be made, that the subduing of Nova Scotia is not the greatest task, but the keeping possession afterwards, as it is surrounded by the sea. The inhabitants being so scattered, and their indigent circumstances that they cannot defend it, therefore the expense would be infinitely more to the States, than any advantage that could arise from it. In answer to it in general, was Great Britain in the same situation as some years ago; it might be feared, but I am sensible their present ability is no way sufficient, except they draw all the troops from the southward to assist their ships

there. But in my present plan, I want to have nothing done to hold any possession to the westward of Halifax, nor is it of any consequence to take it. But Kings County, in the Basin of Minas, Cobequide settlements, and Cumberland County, which is the cream of the Province. The British ships have no such advantage.

Cumberland as mentioned before, from its situation is as easy to be defended as any part in America, it lying on the isthmus. The Bay of Fundie lying on the westward, and Bay Verte in the Gulph of St. Lawrence on the eastward; both these are inaccessible for any large vessels. The former by reason of the rapidity of the current. The tide rising commonly between forty and fifty feet, and the flats dug at low water. King's ships dare not approach nearer the landing than ten miles. The great advantage is with small vessels. There is a number of small rivers which run many miles into the country, which vessels under 80 tons may easily go up on the tide of flood, and securely lye there at any time. Small armed vessels may deprive any attempt against them from the whole British navy. Bay Verte the tide rises commonly six feet. The Bay for 4 leagues down has not more than 4 fathoms of water. I never know'd any king's vessels to come nearer than ten miles.

The French and English esteem'd Fort Cumberland as the most important post in that country; it commands extent of sea coast; it allway supported the Indians in their depredations committed in the eastern country; commanded the sea coast towards Cheuleur, the Indian Trade and Fishery. I am convinced (of a sufficient number of men) it is as easily secured. Provisions and necessaries may be safely transported as to any of the eastern settlements in New England.

Should it not be thought expedient to pursue the forementioned plan, that is by extending the operation immediately over the province. I woud recommend that one thousand men with provisions and ammunition, 6 or 8 pieces of cannon, be as soon as possible sent to River St. John's; from there form their plan how to proceed for Cumberland. I am confident from the account I received that the garrison may still be taken. This number by being stationed in Cumberland County, may harras the whole of the Province, and in process of time, I doubt not will subdue the whole, that is, bring them under the American banner. A communication would be

open'd to St. John's, by cutting a road which might be conveniently done in a short time, as the inhabitants of Cumberland and Sunbury are very hearty in the matter. I would also recommend that no person whatever belonging to Nova Scotia should have the command, or liable to have it by death or otherwise, nor that commissions should be granted to any, to command the inhabitants of their countries, but only those whom the committee particularly recommends.

The necessity of doing something with that province must be obvious, when we consider the many benefits Great Britain receives from their present quiet possession there. At present and for some past, great quantities of fresh provisions, vegetables, hay, &c., have been procured and sent to the enemy. The King's yard at Halifax, on which their whole dependence for to succour their navy abroad depends, in July past had £500,000 of stores in it; this place is of the greatest, and I may say the last importance to Britain in this contest. I have heard several gentlemen of the Army and Navy often signify their dread and fear lest it should be destroy'd. If done, (say they) we must give the matter up for the present. In its present situation Nova Scotia commands an extensive sea coast; along which is very valuable fishery for cod, salmon, bass and sea cows. Great quantities of fish and oil ship'd the past season by English markets trading in the Gulph of St. Lawrence. Transports with other vessels bound up St. Lawrence with supplies to the enemy, puts into harbours to gete refreshments, and receive their orders how to proceed. By this the Gulph lyes intirely unmolested, that the enemy have it in their power to treat with the Indians, and instill into their minds what they please; all this with many other particulars within the circle of my own knowledge. Altho Nova Scotia is looked upon such a deminutive light, am well acquainted with their situation and circumstances, and know well their indigency, that they cannot allways even support themselves; still they are capable to furnish our enemys, and the permitting them to lye still and unmolested appears clearly to me is of an evil tendency to their states, and may be the means of keeping up the war for many years longer.

Should it be thought expedient to pursue any of these plans, it will prevent all those evils mentioned, with the furthur advantage that it would open a communication into Canada by Rastigouche on the

head of the Bay of Cheuleur. Secure the interest of the Indians, and there being a number of very secure rivers and harbors, from Canso to Cheuleur, round to Gaspie, where small privateers may lye secure and concealed, might intercept every vessel going up St. Laurence.

These operation should they take place, would put the enemy in such confusion, and knowing their miserable circumstances in that quarter, they could not send that suitable assistance by which it must annoy their operation in Canada, and be of great service to the cause in general.

Should none of these take place, the inhabitants must remove, if so, could two hundred men be sent to asist them to get off their cattle and affects, and defend any opposition under our Govt.: the River St. John's is talked of by the inhabitants.

I intend myself to settle up one of the lakes in the river to carry on my agency there, as it will be handy for both partes.

## THE FIRST COUNCIL.

BY T. B. AKIN, OF HALIFAX.

The establishment of a Colony and military station at Chebucto, on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, had been in contemplation for some time previous to the year 1749. Many pamphlets on the subject had appeared from the London press, between 1745 and 1748, some of which were written by gentlemen in the old colonies, giving glowing accounts of the country, setting forth its capabilities and the great value and importance of the fishery along its shores. The necessity for such an establishment in some central position on the coast between Boston and Louisburg, in a military point of view, had also been repeatedly pressed upon the attention of the Imperial authorities by Gov. Shirley, of Massachusetts, in his letters to the Secretary of State and Board of Trade and Plantations, which contained plans and suggestions for carrying into effect the object proposed. It was therefore resolved by the Government that the undertaking, so necessary, should be immediately entered upon; and, accordingly, in the spring of 1749 advertisements appeared in the *Royal Gazette* and other London papers offering certain advantages to persons who would be willing to become settlers in Nova Scotia and join the expedition then fitting out and destined for Chebucto. The document, which emanated from the Board of Trade and Plantations, over which Lord Halifax then presided, bore date at Whitehall, March 7th, 1749, and was signed by Thos. Hill, Secretary of the Board.

Before the month of May upwards of 1149 settlers with their families were found to volunteer, and £40,000 having been voted by parliament for the service of the projected settlement, the expedition left the shores of England late in the month of May under the command of the Honorable Edward Cornwallis as Governor and Captain General of Nova Scotia or Acadia.

The sloop-of-war *Sphinx*, in which were the Governor and suite, arrived in the harbor of Chebucto on the 21st June, 1749, old style, and was soon followed by the fleet with the settlers and their families. The Governor immediately sent a message to Annapolis, then the seat of government, with directions for Governor Mascarine and such of his Council as could attend, to proceed immediately to Chebucto to be present at the organization of the new government.

We are all familiar with the story of the meeting of the first council on board the *Beaufort* transport in this harbor, on the 14th July, 1749, when the commission of Gov. Cornwallis was read and his government organized. Around the old table which now stands in the Committee Room of the Legislative Council Chamber were assembled on that occasion seven gentlemen, viz. : Edward Cornwallis, Paul Mascarine, Edward How, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salisbury, and Hugh Davidson, who were then sworn into office as both Executive and Legislative Councillors of the Province. We are informed that the announcement of the formation of the Board was received by a salute from all the ships in the harbor, and the remainder of the day was devoted by the settlers to festivity and rejoicing.

The objects of this paper is to afford some account or memoir of the several gentlemen who constituted the first Council.

We will commence with Governor Cornwallis, giving such information as could be gathered regarding the antecedents of the man to whom Government entrusted the conduct of this important enterprise, and endeavor to trace the events of his subsequent career after he left our shores.

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### GOVERNOR CORNWALLIS.

The Honorable Edward Cornwallis was the sixth son of Charles, Lord Cornwallis, by Lady Charlotte Butler, daughter of Richard Butler, Earl of Arran, in Ireland, and was grandson of James Butler, the great Duke of Ormonde. He was the eldest of twin children born 22nd Feby., 1713; the other twin being Frederick Cornwallis, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of George III.

The family was raised to the peerage by King Charles II, in 1627, for their adhesion to the royal cause during the parliamentary wars. The father of Edward was the fourth Baron.

Edward entered the army at an early age and rose to be major of Bligh's Regiment of Foot, (the 20th) with which he served through the campaigns in Flanders in 1744 and 1745. He succeeded to the command of the regiment after the Battle of Fontenoy, his Lieut.-Colonel having been killed in the action. On the death of his brother Stephen, in 1743, he was appointed by his father member of parliament for the borough of Eye, in Suffolk,—the Cornwallis family being patrons or proprietors of that borough. In the year 1745 he obtained the post at Court of Groom of His Majesty's Bed-Chamber. After the close of the war, the 20th regiment, then known as Lord George Sackville's, was quartered at Sterling, in Scotland, where Cornwallis commanded as Lieut.-Colonel and James Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, was his major. Owing to the disturbed state of the country, a commanding officer of a regiment in Scotland at this period was required to exercise no ordinary degree of self-control and prudence, in order to combine conciliation with the necessary firmness of purpose. This appears from the general orders issued at this time to commanders of regiments in North Britain, and Cornwallis was found to have performed this difficult duty with satisfaction to the government. He, however did not remain long in command at Sterling before receiving his appointment as Governor of Nova Scotia. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Major Wolfe, whose skill and tact in the management of this corps was highly commended, and was one of the means of bringing his military qualities to the notice of Mr. Pitt—which afterward resulted in his appointment to the command of the expedition against Quebec, where his noble life was terminated in the arms of victory.

Cornwallis' commission as Governor of Nova Scotia bears date May 6, 1749, and that of full Colonel shortly before his departure from England. He appears to have been highly esteemed in his regiment—Wolfe in a letter to Captain Rickson of Laselle's regiment, then stationed at Halifax, says:—"Tell Cornwallis I thank  
" him for making me a Lieutenant-Colonel. If I was to rise by his  
" merit, as upon this occasion, I should soon be at the top of the list.  
" He promised to write to some of us, but has not; they are not the  
" less ardent for his prosperity, and the whole corps unites in one

“common wish for his welfare and success.” He continued in the government of Nova Scotia until the latter part of the year 1752, when he solicited for his recall, having been (as will appear from his correspondence) disgusted with the parsimony of the home government, regarding the expenditure at Halifax, and the difficulties thrown in his way by agents and others regarding his bills of exchange on the Lords of the Treasury. His kindness, assiduity and attention to the duties of his office, as head of the new settlement, were long remembered by the older settlers, some of the descendants of whom I have heard repeat stories of his kind manner and attention to the wants of the people. The tenor of his letters to the Board of Trade and the Secretary of the State during his term of office goes to confirm the same.

Early in January, 1753, on the death of Sir Peter Warren, the member for the city of Westminster, Cornwallis was chosen to the vacant seat; and in the following year, on a dissolution of parliament, he was again returned for Westminster in the parliament which met on 1st May, 1754.

In the month of April, 1756, Colonel Cornwallis, with the other commanding officers whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca and Gibraltar, sailed with the expedition under Admiral Byng, with orders to relieve Genl. Blakeney at Minorca, which expedition having failed, Cornwallis, as well as the other military officers, became involved in the responsibility by having united in subscribing the declaration made by the council of war that it was impossible to relieve the British commander at St. Philip's Castle, and that the fleet should make the best of their way back to Gibraltar which might require their protection. On the strength of this declaration General Fouke, then commanding at Gibraltar, refused to reinforce Byng's fleet. This unfortunate affair resulted in the trial and condemnation of Admiral Byng, who lost his life. Fouke was tried and dismissed the service, and Cornwallis, Lord Effingham and Lord Bertie fell into disgrace. Colonel Wolfe, in a letter to his father on the occasion, says:—“I don't suppose there is a man living more to be pitied  
“ than poor Cornwallis, as he has more zeal, more merit and more  
“ integrity than one commonly meets with among men. He will be  
“ proportionately mortified to find himself in disgrace with the best  
“ intentions to deserve favor. I am heartly sorry to find him in-  
“ volved with the rest, of whose abilities and inclinations no body has



any high notions. But Cornwallis is a man of approve courage and fidelity. He has unhappily been misled upon this occasion by people of not half his value."

In February following he was restored to favor and give a command. He again, however, became involved in the unfortunate failure of the expedition under Admiral Hawke and Gen, Mordaunt which had been fitted out to attack Rochefort, on the French coast. Having had a command with General Conway, in this expedition, they both fell under public censure by having been persuaded to concur in the council of war which decided on the withdrawal of the fleet from Rochefort, through an over fair opinion of the judgment of their commander, General Mordaunt, so says Wolfe, who was also in the expedition.

They were, however, not arraigned for their conduct on this occasion. Horace Walpole, in speaking of the qualities of Conway and Cornwallis, says of the latter :—" He was a man of a very different complexion from Conway—as cool as Conway and as brave, he was indifferent to everything but to being in the right." Wolfe represents him as particularly sensitive to reproach ; if, however, we may judge from the course twice taken by him when under difficulties—he was lacking in that firmness required to oppose the authority of his superior—a strict disciplinarian brought up in the school of Frederick the Great, submission to command was with him the first duty without regard to consequences. Holding, as both he and Conway did, subordinate positions in these expeditions, their affixing their names to the council of war was but obedience to authority. This, probably, was the view entertained at headquarters, for we find him gazetted as Major-General in Feby. 1757. Two years after this he received the appointment of Governor of Gibraltar.

He married in 1753, on his return from Halifax, Mary, daughter of Charles, second Lord Viscount Townsend, and died childless in the year 1776 ; aged, 63.

To have drawn from that cynic, Horace Walpole, so favorable a remark as that above quoted, and to have been the intimate friend of the immortal Wolfe, entitle him to be classed among the noble and the brave.

## GOVERNOR PAUL MASCARINE.

Paul Mascarine, was born at Castras, in the Province of Languedoc, South of France, in the year 1684. His parents were Jean Mascarine and Margaret de Salavy. His father, who was a Huguenot, having been compelled to fly from France at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when all Protestants were compelled to leave that country, young Mascarine fell to the charge of his grandmother. At the age of twelve he made his way to Geneva where he was educated, and afterwards went to England where he was naturalized in 1706. Two years after he received the appointment of second lieutenant in Lord Montague's regiment, then doing duty at Portsmouth. In 1710 he obtained his commission as captain from Queen Anne, and was ordered by the Secretary of War to proceed to America where he joined the regiment raised in New England for the taking of Port Royal. He there commanded the grenadiers of Col. Watters' regiment, and was the officer who took formal possession of the fort of Port Royal in mounting the first guard. Shortly after he received the rank of brevet major from General Nicholson, the commander-in-chief of the expedition.

Major Mascarine for some time commanded the garrison at Placentia, in Newfoundland, where part of the regiment was then stationed. On the death of Lieut.-Colonel Armstrong, in 1739, he was appointed regimental major, and on the death of Col. Crosby he became Lieut.-Colonel commandant of Philips' regiment, afterwards known as the 40th.

Col. Mascarine was nominated third on the list of councillors at the first establishment of the board at Annapolis Royal by Governor Philipps, in 1720, and was afterwards senior councillor for many years. In 1740 he was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Annapolis Royal, a military appointment, and became administrator of the government of the province (Philipps, the Governor, residing in England), which office he held until the arrival of Governor Cornwallis, in 1749, when he came down to Chebucto with several members of his council and a military detachment to meet the new governor, and was sworn in senior councillor on Board the *Beaufort* transport where the first council met, in July, 1749. About the

year 1720 he transmitted to the Plantation Office and Board of Ordnance, documents containing a complete description of the Province, with suggestions regarding its settlement and defence. In May, 1744, he defended the fort of Annapolis against a strong force of Indians, under M. LeLoutre, who burned part of the town outside the fortifications, killing several of the English inhabitants and carrying off the cattle. The same year he was attacked by a considerable French force under M. DuVivier, from Louisburg, and though the fort at the time was in a ruinous condition, owing to the carelessness of the Board of Ordnance, in England, he held the place against the remonstrances of some of his officers and finally beat off the enemy. He was, at an earlier period, engaged on the part of the Province of Nova Scotia, in conjunction with Governors Dummer and Wentworth, of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in negotiation with the Eastern Indians, which resulted in the treaty of peace signed in 1725 or 1726. He again proceeded to New England for the same purpose, in 1751, under direction of Gov. Cornwallis, where he was occupied some time, with Gov. Shirley, in conciliating the Indians Chiefs of western Acadia. He soon after obtained leave to retire from active service on account of his advanced age. In 1758 he was gazetted Major-General and resided in Boston until his death, which took place January 22nd, 1760. He married Elizabeth Perry, a Boston lady, and left a son and daughter. The late Judge Foster Hutchinson, of Halifax, and the late Commissary General William Handfield Snelling, were his grandsons. His great-grandson, Mr. William S. Stirling, formerly resided in Halifax, is now living in the south of France.

Governor Mascarine, in his letters to the Board of Trade and Secretary of State, complains of the very small remuneration which he received for his long and arduous duties in sustaining British authority in Acadia; never having received any allowance from General Philipps, the Governor, for his services during the long period he administered the government; though after the death of of Lieut.-Governor Armstrong an offer of remuneration had been made by Philipps, it was afterwards withdrawn on the ground of inability to spare the money. He mentions having to subsist in his old days wholly on the half-pay of his Lieut.-Colonelcy, all his other steps in his profession being but brevet ranks.

After the death of his predecessor, Col. Armstrong, he found him-

self compelled to keep up the battalion under his command while deprived of the necessary supplies, both of food and clothing, through the parsimony or peculation of General Philipps, who was colonel in chief of the regiment, and to such miserable straits were the men reduced that Cornwallis, in his despatch to the Secretary of State—1750—says : “ No regiment in any service was ever reduced to the condition in which I found this unfortunate battalion.” Yet, notwithstanding the condition of the force under his command, and the ruinous and neglected state of the fort he contrived to sustain himself against repeated attacks of the enemy ; surrounded by a hostile population and while in a great measure dependent on Boston for his supplies.

To write a biography of General Mascarine would be to write the History of Acadia from the Treaty of Utrecht to the year 1749. For thirty years he was the master mind at Annapolis. Constant hostilities with the French and Indians during nearly the whole period kept him in continual action, and to his activity and perseverance Great Britain was indebted for the preservation of her dominion over Acadia. The mass of correspondence and public documents which appear in his handwriting, or written under his direction, would fill volumes. No man in British America ever served his country better, and no man ever received less support in his necessities or less remuneration for his services.

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#### CAPTAIN EDWARD HOW.

Edward How was, I believe, a native of one of the New England Provinces.\* He was sworn in a member of Council at Annapolis Royal, on 27th August, 1736, and took his seat at the board on the following day. He is designated in the council books—Commissary of the Musters at Canso. He appears to have served the government for many years in several honorable employments—as high sheriff, justice of the peace, and captain of militia. He accompanied the

\* The want of the Journals of the Historical and Genealogical Society of New England, and other works of similar kind in our libraries, prevented me from obtaining further information regarding this gentleman before he commenced his career in Nova Scotia.

provincial troops, under Col. Noble, to Grand Pré, in 1747, in the capacity of commissary, when that officer was surprised and killed by the French force under LeCorne, which came down from Chignecto in the midst of winter. Capt. How, who was in the house with Col. Noble and other officers when the surprise took place, was severely wounded and fell into the hands of the enemy. He was, however, when convalescent, sent home on parole and finally exchanged for the Sieur Lagroix, who had been some time a prisoner at Boston. He came down from Annapolis with Genl. Mascarine to Chebucto, in 1749, and took his place next the ex-Governor at the Council Board. He was frequently employed in difficult and important negotiations with the French and the Indians, being well acquainted with the country and well skilled in both languages. He was sent by Gov. Cornwallis with Capt Rouse, in the ship *Albany*, to St. John's River to negotiate a peace with the Indians of that part of Acadia, and brought back with him deputies from the St. John Tribes, who made submission to the government and signed articles of agreement at Halifax as a renewal of the Treaty of 1726; the original of which, together with a facsimilie copy of that of 1726, are among our archives. He accompanied the Indians on their return to St. John's River, and carried presents to the chiefs of the tribes. The following year he proceeded to Beaubasin to negotiate with the French commander, LeCorne, then in command of the forts at the Isthmus where he was barbarously murdered. The following extract from Mr. Cornwallis' letter to the Duke of Bedford, Secretary of State, dated Nov. 27, 1750, gives the particulars of his death as it was then known at headquarters:—"Capt. How was employed upon the expedition to Chignecto, knowing the country well and being better acquainted with the Indians and inhabitants. His whole aim and study was to try for peace with the Indians and to get our prisoners out of their hands, for which purpose he had frequent conferences with LeLoutre and the French officers under a flag of truce. LeCorne sent one day a flag of truce by a French officer to the water side, a small river that parts their people from our troops. Capt. How and the officer held a parley for some time across the river. How had no sooner taken leave of the officer than a party that lay *perdue* fired a volley at him and shot him through the heart." The French officers immediately denied the crime, and charged it on the Indians or those under whose control they were.

There are various statements of this affair to be met with in the letters and papers of the time from which it would appear that the party who fired were not French but Indians.

Capt. How left a widow and family ; she afterwards made a claim on government for a large sum of money advanced by her late husband for the public service. It is believed he left descendants at Annapolis. Capt. Richard How, late of the 81st regiment, formerly of Halifax, was one of his grandsons.

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### COLONEL JOHN GORHAM.

Colonel Gorham was a native of Massachusetts, of an influential family. In the year 1744 he was stationed in command of a party of provincial troops at Annapolis Royal, which place being threatened by the enemy ; he was sent by Governor Mascarine to Boston to raise troops for its defence. While there he was induced by Gov. Shirley to join the expedition then fitting out against Cape Breton. Having raised a number of men for that expedition he received the appointment of Lieut.-Colonel of his father's regiment of provincials, and was put in charge of the whale boats which were to land the troops. On the death of his father, at Louisburg, he was promoted by General Pepperell to be full colonel. In one of his letters to Sir Wm. Pepperell he thanks him for the appointment and requests a letter of recommendation to assist him in carrying through his memorial, then before the Massachusetts Legislature, to be reimbursed for outlays made by him in the public service. Col. Gorham returned to Annapolis after the capture of Louisburg, and received from Gov. Shirley the command of the New England troops sent to Minas with Colonel Noble, but was not present in the engagement with the French at Grand Prê where Noble, who was in command, was killed. He had afterwards command of a body of Rangers, composed principally of Indians raised in New England for service in Acadia.

Gorham came from Annapolis with the Rangers to Chebucto, in June, 1749, and was appointed to the Council. It is uncertain whether he held a seat in the Council at Annapolis, as there are no records of the Council to be found between 1745 and 1749, but one

entry in 1748 in which his name does not appear. Cornwallis, however, assigned him a place at the Board above those gentlemen who came with him from England. He is called captain in the list of Cornwallis' Council, which was probably his rank in the regular army, that of colonel being only militia rank. He was recommended to the consideration of government by Genl. Pepperell, for his services at Louisburg, and it is probable that the military rank of captain was then conferred on him. In one of his letters to Gen. Pepperell, in 1751, he reminds him that when he went to Boston to recruit for Annapolis Royal, which was then in great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, he was importuned by him and Gen. Shirley to raise men and purchase whale boats and proceed on the expedition to Cape Breton, which he did, upon the condition of having the liberty of going "home" with the despatches in his own sloop as soon as the English flag should be hoisted at Louisburg, which promise was not fulfilled.

Gov. Mascarine, in one of his letters to the Plantation Office, in the year 1748, mentions a proposition of Captain Gorham's to settle a number of families from Massachusetts on a tract of land to be laid out to him as a township on the eastern coast of the province. It does not however, appear that this project was ever carried into operation. Gorham did not remain long in Halifax, it is probable he returned to his home in New England, as his name does not appear in the council books after the year 1752. His brother, Joseph Gorham, remained many years at Halifax, and finally arrived at the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in the British army—was a member of Council in 1775, and afterwards Governor or Commander of the troops stationed at Placentia Bay, in Newfoundland. [I have not been able to ascertain whether Captain John Gorham was married or left any descendants.]

It was through the energy of such men as Pepperell, Shirley, Gorham and some others, whose names do not appear in history, that British ascendancy at this period was preserved in Eastern America. The provincials produced many men of importance during the progress of the war, which terminated in the downfall of the French power on this continent, and perhaps Great Britain was as much indebted to the American militiamen for her success at this period as she was to the regular army which unfortunately had been long under incompetent commanders, until Mr. Pitt brought forward

Amherst and Wolfe to restore its prestige. The custom which then prevailed of selecting commanding officers through court favor or on account of their seniority, had brought defeat and discredit on the British arms, both in Europe and America. The affairs of Minorca and Rochefort were not the only results of this mistaken policy. The folly of entrusting the affairs of America to such men as Braddock, Loudon, Holbourn, and Abercrombie\* was still more disastrous. Mr. Pitt found it necessary, at length, to put an end to this time-honored system, and in selecting Amherst and Wolfe from among the younger officers for supreme command, on account of their military talents, saved America to the British Crown.

It was remarked by one of the old Connecticut Rangers, as the boats with the troops neared the fortifications of Louisburg, in 1758, when he saw the young brigadier, Mr. Wolfe standing on the prow of one of the foremost boats, with the sea all around him boiling up with the heavy fire from the batteries, "We have at last got a man fit to command us!" The men had been ordered to lie down in the boats to avoid the fire, but the New England militiamen could not endure to see their commander alone exposed to the fire, and the whole battalion arose with a cheer which soon ran along the line.

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### BENJAMIN GREEN.

Benjamin Green was a native of the Province of Massachusetts Bay; born in 1713; the youngest son of the Rev. Joseph Green† rector or minister of Salem village, and a graduate of Harvard. He was brought up as a merchant under his elder brother, Joseph, in Boston. In November, 1737, he married the daughter of the Hon. Joseph Pierce, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He accompanied General Pepperell to Louisburg, in 1745, as secretary to the expedition, and after the capture of that place by the provincial army, remained there as government secretary and manager of the finances,

\* In a journal kept by Wm. Parkman, a Boston militiaman, who served at Ticonderoga, in 1758, the following remark occurs: "This year past that I have been in the service, I have been under Major-General James Abercrombie, an aged gentleman, and infirm in mind and body."

† The Rev. Joseph Green was the son of John Green, of Cambridge, who came from England to Massachusetts in 1639.



until Cape Breton was restored to the French, when he removed with his family to Halifax, and was appointed one of Governor Cornwallis' Council. He was afterwards treasurer of the province and for the first 15 years of the settlement occupied several other prominent offices. After the retirement of Mr. Davidson he was acting secretary of the council—most of the entries in the council books, between 1751 and '53, being in his handwriting. He also held the office of judge of the court of vice-admiralty for several years.

On the death of Gov. Wilmot, in 1766, Mr. Green, being then senior councillor, was appointed administrator of the government. He died at Halifax, in 1772, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Mr. Green appears to have been a diligent and careful man of business, and to have conducted the several offices which he occupied to the satisfaction of the government. Admiral Sir Peter Warren, in one of his letters to Gen. Pepperell, in reference to the affairs of Louisburg, says:—"Mr. Green has been very diligent, and I think has sent everything in his power home to facilitate the passing of our accounts.."

His eldest son, Benjamin, succeeded him as treasurer of the province, and was also a member of the House of Assembly. Benjamin Green, jr., was father of the late Joseph Green, a retired lieutenant in the navy, who formerly resided at Lawrencetown, of Henry Green, a farmer at Lawrencetown, who left descendants, and of Lieutenant Wm. P. Green, R. N., who died in England.

The late Captain Parker, who fell at Sebastopol, and whose monument, with that of Major Welsford, is to be seen in the old burial-ground on Pleasant Street, was a grandson of Benjamin Green, jr.

The second son of the Hon. Benjamin Green was many years sheriff of Halifax, and afterwards removed to Boston. The late Stephen H. Binney, son of the Hon. Jonathan Binney, of Halifax, married a daughter of Sheriff Green. Our worthy president is his grandson, and therefore, fourth in descent from Councillor Green.

## JOHN SALISBURY.

John Salisbury accompanied Gov. Cornwallis to Nova Scotia as one of his suite. Lord Halifax was his friend and patron. He had dissipated much of his fortune, and probably came to this country merely for change of scene, and to resuscitate his resources. This, we infer, from his not having taken an active part in forwarding the settlement. He was of a Welsh family—brother to Doctor Thomas Salisbury, an eminent civil lawyer in London. He married his cousin, Miss Cotton, daughter of Sir Robert Cotton, of Combermore, who brought him a fortune of £10,000, which he spent in extravagance and dissipation. While in Halifax he is said to have behaved perversely, quarrelling and fighting duels, and fretting his friends at home with his complaints. He returned to England in Dec., 1752, at the request of his wife's brother, and died at Olfley Place, the county seat of his relative, Sir Thomas Salisbury, in Hertfordshire, in December, 1762, and was buried in the parish church of Bachy-Graig, in Wales, leaving an only daughter, Mrs. Thrane, afterwards Mrs. Piozzi, well known in the literary world as the friend and correspondent of Dr. Samuel Johnson. After his return, while in London, he was intimate with the celebrated painter, Hogarth, and was one of the numerous escort of Lord Halifax, who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in his journey through Wales.

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HUGH DAVIDSON.

We have no information regarding this gentleman beyond the fact that he accompanied Gov. Cornwallis to Nova Scotia, and held the appointment of secretary of the council during the first year of the settlement. He returned to England, in 1750, to answer before the Board of Trade and Plantations to charges made against him for irregular and improper conduct in the administration of his office. He was accused of trading in the stores and supplies of the settlers. Gov. Cornwallis thought him innocent of most of the charges under which he labored.

JOURNAL OF JOHN WITHERSPOON.

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[John Witherspoon, one of the early settlers in Annapolis, was taken by the Indians, in 1757, while cutting wood on the Mountain, near the fort at Annapolis, sold to the French, and carried to Quebec, where he was kept a prisoner, as told in his journal, until the capture of that city by Wolfe, in 1759. In the census for 1769 he is enumerated, and in the census of 1770 as at Granville, the master of a family of eight persons, one man, three boys, one woman, and three girls, all Protestants and Americans; had 2 oxen, 3 cows, 3 young cattle, 5 sheep, and 2 swine. The tradition among the family is that the following journal was written from day to day while a prisoner with tobacco juice, and while in prison was hidden every night among the cinders for fear of the sentinel who had charge of the prisoners. This is printed from a copy written many years ago, from the original, by some person in Annapolis. Some of the original was lost, much of it defaced, and all of it hard to decipher; but the copy is believed to be, in the main, correct. We are indebted to T. B. Akin, Esq., for the journal, and for permission to publish. J. T. B.]

\* \* \* \* \* Night we went on shore, wet and cold, little but the clouds to cover us. About four in the morning we set out again where we arrived at Peatcoiack the seventh of the said month. He that seemed to be the head of them took me to his house, and a poor cottage it is. A woman, a child, and a straw bed in it. There I tarried two days. From thence they took me about a league farther up the river with the other three again \* \* \*

\* \* \* Night we set out for a place called Mirimiche, about 60 leagu distance, where we arrived the 16th November. When I came there I met with two English prisoners, the one was Lieut. Dickson, of the Rangers, the other Alexander Mill, they were taken at Fort Cumberland, the 20th July before. When I came there I found the people very poor—they had some pease, salt fish, and living in this

place—— \* \*

\* \* That we had, they had taken from us for the weather was very cold, as it could not be otherwise expected, so far to the northward. We were billotted, some to one place and some to another.

And here I am likely to tarry for sometime, if it please God I shall live. But here I would not forget to mention some of God's goodness to me a poor sinner, and Oh that I might do so in a sincere and enlightened manner, to that God whose Mercies to me have been infinitely great, considering the poor state of health I was in when I was taken.

The difficulties that I underwent through, wet and cold, and yet God in his infinite mercy was pleased to raise me to health again, which I have great reason never to forget ; but here again my troubles does but begin when I think of my dear wife, and, in one sense, my poor fatherless children, causes my troubles to be fresh and new, and God has seen meet in this disposing of his holy Providence to separate us fare distant the one from the other, to hear from them I cannot or they from me, or when we shall meet God only knows ; but I will leave room for Him and Him alone to work out my deliverance, and say with Holy Job : " Shall we receive good at the hand of God and not receive evil ? And that all things shall work together for the good of them that love God ? "

The people here are kind of such as they have, but the style of husbandry carried on in this land is very bad, the spirit of industry they have not, they are an idle people running from house to house.

pipes and tobacco is the chief of the business that is carried on in this place.

*January ye 7th* Busoley brought five more prisoners that they had taken at Annapolis Royal the 6 December before, the Regulars.

*January 10.* There went a packet from this place for Quebeck, and another for River Saint John's. The chief of their talk in this place is, to go to the River Saint John's in the Spring of the year in order to fix out a scunner (schooner) they had taken about two years ago from Capt. McNeut, of Bo(ston) in order to take our trading vessels as they go up. \* \* \*

\* \* Snow than I have often seen in New England, it is about four foot deep.

*March the fourth* there went tow men from this place for Halifax in order to see if our fleet was there.

*March the 19.* The Post came back but it is little news I can hear for the French are a very pollotic sett people. I understand the small pox is in Carneday (Canada) of which a great number

have died. This sore and contagious distemper the French call *pockot*. As to the number of the dead I did not rightly hear, but some say seven hundred— Here is three sore calamities on this people at once, the sword, famine and pestilence, but I hope God will bless the English nation with health and plenty, although in his wisdom he sees meet to afflict us with sore and distressing war. And that health may be within our camps, that vice may be surprised (suppressed)—a thing that abounds greatly among our soldiers. A thing enough to bring down the judgment of God upon us. If our leaders, commanders, and officers were as strick to check vice as they are many other things of a lesser nature, in a particular manner that crying sin the breach of the Third Commandment, where the Holy and Reverent name of God is blasphemed in a most Awful manner. I say if they were as strick to punish this crying sin as they are for things seris of a lesser Nature; we might then expect that God would go forth with our armies and fight our battles for us.

What the event of this year will be God only knows, there being a great affair upon the carpet, our fleet and army going against Loueasburg. O that God would go forth with them. That our enemies this year may meet with shameful foil that they may not have occasion to boast nor usurp over us, as in the years past in our southern countries. The season here is very backward to what it is in New England, being so far to the northward and but little inhabited. This river broke up the 30th April.

*May 2.* The tow men that went from this place to Halifax have come back, and brought Mr. Eason, the master carpenter at Annapolis Royal, that was took the 6 December before, he being not able to travel to this place in the winter season; was kept at Petocack all winter. They likewise brought another person that they took at Halifax, a Sargent of Capt. Gorom's Company. I inquired of the Sargent concerning my friends there, but he did not know them. The small pox was thear but not mortal, he likewise told me that Capt. John Simson, of Old York, had died of that distemper, which I was very sorry to hear. Hear is a fine river in this place for fishen sammon, bearies, trout and what not.

But the people are lazey, and lay up nothing for a rainy day.

*June the 9th.* Mr. Bobare, from Queback, arrived at this place with about 100 men, hear he intends to raise what French and

Indians he can in order for Louesburg and the mean seet of men he hade.

*June the 17* he went from this place with his raged scout. At this time the men being almost all gone, one Mr. Linerveal had the command of the place b., he being somewhat jealous lest we should take an opportunity and make our escape—a thing indeed we often thought upon, he ordered a prison to be where we were shut up in it.

About this time we had news from the River of Seant John's that they had taken a large scunner (schooner) bound up the Bay, loaded with lime, whom I found to be Capt Grow of Old York, which I was very sorry to hear, sun after I heard Capt. Mayors of Boston being teaken, bound to Anaplous Royel with a very fine cargow a thing they stood in great ned of.

Liberty being a thing that none knows how to price but those that are deprived of it. We thought now a fit opportunity to make our escape. Out of our small allowance of provisions we had procured as much as we thought might us over our intended journey.

\* \* our intent was to go as far as the head of the Bay of Art in a large cannew which we had in view. But hear my misfortune proved very heard.

We heaveing all things, as we thought, in good order.

*July the 10th.* About 2 in the morning we seet out with a good heart. We wrought very hard all that day. We made a very great a great rum of it to the distance of near forty leages. But night coming on some of our people began to be very cross and surly and would not work. Having som licker on bord som of them drank so freely that they rendered themselves unfit for any service. The wind being to the Northward. As knowing that the French would follow us I beaged of them to improve their time but all to no purpose.

What would not a man do for his liberty, but some regard it not, hear my troubles were not small to see men drunk and worse than mad, the day coming on and little or nothing done all night. About sun rise to our surprise we saw two ships coming down upon us before the wind. Now we began to feel something of the last night's work. I told them our best way would be to work along and that

in a short time we should get in with the tide and they could not see us. But they would not comply with. Then we concluded to go a shoer and travel by land through a long and difficult road. When we got on shore some of them were so drunk that they were not fit to march. Another preferred a few things that he brought with him before his liberty, chose rather to go the French and deliver himself up then to undertake such a journey. By this time the shipes ware come to an anchor about a                    der along then wheare we landed and ware landing men. Hear we spent some time concluding what we had best do in this our pore condition, as knowing there was a river we had to cross thinking the French would waylay that river and stop us there. Here we wandered to and fro about in the wilderness for some time not knowing what we had best do. At last we concluded to go back to the cannaw and tarry till the evening hoping then we might get by in the night; but hear again we were prostrated, for when again we came back Johnson Young, that we had left it behind, had delivered                    up to the French ageain, no one can think the troble th                    Then I fealt to think of the troubles and heardships that I had undervent and how easy we might have got ofe head it not been for strong drink, a thing that has prouved fattel to many a one. It greaved me to think that ever I had set out with such a drunken set of men. It being now about four in the afternoon I saw to ower great surprise four cannaws, two of French and two of Indians, clos by us full of men. What to do we could not tell. About half a mile from this place there lived one Peter Sumet, a Frenchman. We thought best to go and deliver ourselves up to him, rather than fall into the hands of the Indians, whereas we could not expect nothing at their hands but suffer a most cruel death. We run some one way and some another. I had not run far before I met foure Frenchmen, they called to me to stand or they would shoooot me. Hear I was taken a prisoner ageain; by this time the Indians was landed. When they came up to me to see their bloodthursty looks, they looked more like devils than like men, they and the French but little better, they were painted in all manner of collors, a most blood thrusty set. I being now in this deplorably melancholy condition in the he

\* \* About the 20th July they brought five prisoners more that the Indians had taken, two at Monheagin and three at Mintineous, in small fighting boats, three of them from Cape Ann and two from

Damiscotey. They likewise brought John Clark, that was in York prison when I came from there, with his wife and two childran that the Indians had teaken ofe with Grandmonan. Whear he was going I cannot tell. The French at this time ware very breaf in going ageanst Georges, and Clark as forward as any of them, his whole secam was the surveying out the plan of the place and telling them how esey it was to come at it. He likewise offered his services to go with them if they would except of it. But their new comrade they did not lick so well, as to take him with them. A grand villen he has esceaped the gallows tow long.

*August the 2nd.* Mr. Bobar arrived here from Louesbourg who brought the news that it was teaken, heavey tidens to the French to hear.

But this time they set out for Georges, what the event of it will be I cannot tell.

They are now about to send us to Quebeck, I being present far distant from my dear wife and children, yet I have farther yet to go or when we shall meet

\* \* which was comfortable news to me to hear that she was well, and the rest of my dear friends at York. When I came to Quebak I was in hope my abode would not be long there. There being six ships going for Eingland to carry ofe the prisoners but hear I was mistaken. The first, I think, sailed the 22nd of September and the reast soon after. I being now within these cold walls I find it a poor place of aboed. Had men money every thing is so dear that there is no byeing aney thing. Hear is poor liveing for prisoners ; our allowance is healf a pound of bread, healf of pork and healf of salt fish. A day short allownee which eased sickness amongst the people as obliged them to eat that which was very pre-agudishel to their health, as salt fish broth and cabig broth which eased a great purging and flux ofe which a considerable number died. Johnson Young died about the 23 or 24 September, as near as I was told. I never saw him after I left the veasel. At this time the prisoners were allmost all gone excepting Capt. Grow, Capt. Mayors and these people and myself, whome I beleave will tarrey out the winter.

If it please God we should live, for what end we are singled out we cannot find out, neither will they let us know a thing that



appears very dark. Here again they altered our allowance, half a pound of bread, one quarter of pork and three quarters of fish, worse than before. Soon after that they altered it to three quarters of bread, half a pound of beef and                      of fish, something better enough.

Although I am allowed seven pence half penny sterling per day, yet I find it hard to live, can hardly rub and grow. Every thing being at such an extravagant price that it is almost incredible to mention.

About the 11 October one Mr. Howes, of Boston, an officer on board the Province ship, came here, who came from Boston to Georges in the ship in order to defend that fort against the French and Indians. He left the ship there and went down upon a discovery as far as the Fox Islands; they run into some of them and lay by in order to decoy them, but they are too subtle to be caught in such snares. He was taken in the beargee with a 11 men by a number of the French and Indians. He likewise brought news that the English were building a fort at the mouth of the river Saint Johns.

About the 20 of October. I had then some secret hope that then I should have an opportunity to take my leave of Quebeck. Cornell Schyler, who was taken at Oswago, was now a going home, there being a number of prisoners going with him. I was in hopes I might be amongst the rest; but hear all my hopes proved in vain. He went from Quebeck the 24 of October. I had the opportunity of sending two letters, one to my wife and another to my brother, by one John Thompson of Boston; they went by the way of Fort Edward. This gentleman has been of great service to the people in this place in letting them have money, whereas if they had had it not they must of necessity suffered greatly, the allowance being so small that, if I may so speak, it would hardly keep soul and body together.

About that time my kinsman, John McClarion, was very much indisposed, there being nothing in the prison that was comfortable for the well much more for the sick. I advised him to go to the hospital, which he complied with, it being a mile distance from the prison. I heard nothing from him for some time. The first news that I heard was the last that will be heard of all the living—he was dead—I had not the liberty to visit him in his sickness nor to attend upon his funeral. He died the 28 day of October, 1758.

Here I could not but admire the long suffering peatience of a sovereign God, that I am this side the greave, and this side etearnity now in this dieing time when deaths are not only repeated week after week, but day after day, when maney that were as lickly to live as I are now in the rotting grave and their places heare shall know them no more. Oh! how wonderfully good and kind heas God been to me through all this my affliction. In that great measure of health that I injoye, that he is geaving me time and an opportunity to make my calling and election sure in Him. Oh! that with holy fear he would teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart to wisdom.

But to speak of things of another neature; but hear I know not how to begin, considering the treatment that we meet with, now Englishman would beleave without he had a tryeal of the same. Shut up in a cold prison, little fier-wood, short of provision, they will neither suffer us to go out or suffer aney to come in to see us; if we were malefactors they could not use us worse. The necessarys we stood in need of so dear that it is almost increditable to mention, but for curiosity sake I shall mention the price of some things that our neassesit

son us to bye flowre 1s 8d per

2s 1d; suger, 5s; beef, 1s 4d; pork, 1s 10d; wine, 3s 4d per quart; brandy, 10s a quart; all this is starling, but in licquer we treaded but litel; now any one may judge what liveing there is in Queback. The inheabitince of this place are alowed but one quarter of bread and one of beef per day, a most measurable place for poor people.

And now to looke forward to a long and cold winter if it please God if I should live, looks really very dark. But He that has carried me through six troubles is allsuffishent carey me through seaven.

About the first of January there general came from Mount Royal. Then our allowance was altered to one pound of bread and one of beef per day, the same as there own troops, whereas we can make it dow much better than before.

About the 25 of February we had news from Peatioiack that the English have been there, that they had taken 45 prisoners; that they lickwise had retaken the seunner that they had for a priveattear, and likewise Capt. Mayors is ship. I hope that veill Black Note will be routed in time, and that they had taken six English prisoners, three of which they killed. But the seartinty of this we have not had as yet, for the are not yet come to this place.

*March the 5*, about 12 at night God was pleased to visit us by an earthquake, a midnight call, be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh. What a being is God? Not only shakes the heavens but the earth also. He stretched out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing. He bindeth up the waters in his thick clouds, and the clouds is not rent under them; He holdeth back the face of his throne and spreadeth his cloud upon it. He hath compassed the waters with bounds until the day and night come to an end. The pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished. He divideth the sea with his power and by his understanding he smiteth through the proud. By his spirit he hath garnished the heavens; his hand hath formed the crooked serpents. Lo these are parts of his ways, but how little a portion is heard of him. But the thunder of his power who can understand. These loud calls shows something of Christ second coming to the judgment, and that his word is fulfilling very fast.

I would endeavour to set Down everything as near as I can in a particular manner those things that fall out amongst ourselves, but through my weak memory I have forgot a great deal.

Two of Capt. Grows people died in Queback. James Grant died the 29 of January, the other I did not rightly hear when. They both died in the hospitele.

*March the 6*. There General went from Queback to Mount Royal.

About the 11 March we had news by a Frenchman that run away from Loueasburg that there was a great sickness amongst our Armeey there, as to the truth of it I cannot tell.

About the 17 of March we had news from Mount Royal that our English Armeey, to the number of 10 or 12,000 men, had got to a place called point Deba within 10 or 13 leagues of M.

Which capes a great ster them in Queback they muster all

The forces they can in order to Defend Them; but I hope God will order it otherwise. We likwis heard that they had killed a great number of there carpenters, a vearly good secting.

About the 20 of March Mr. Bobear went from Queback with 25 men, bound for Mimiriche to ris what men he can there, and lickwis at the river Saint Johns. Whear they are going I cannot tell, but

it is to be feared they are going against som of our Eastrin settlements, where it is feared they will do a deal of damage in their poor scattered condition. Without God in his Holy providence direct otherwise by giving them a warning in this affair.

Time being a thing that stays for no one, let him be in what degree so ever, one year passes away after another. God of his infinite goodness has been pleased to carry me through another long and tedious winter in this state of my imprisonment. And, indeed, what I have often heard concerning this country when I had little thoughts of ever seeing of it, I finde by unhappy experience to be very true. The year in this place may be said to be devided into two parts—summer and winter, and indeed the winter has the greater part, it being so long and cold even to those who have there liberty, much more to those of us prisoners confined within a body of rocks and lime, not heaving the libearty to ster to give the blod a true serekoulation, and yet God of his wonderful goodness has been pleased to grant me that great and vealloble blessing, health, through all these my troubles, a blessing that non knows how to prize but those that are deprived of it, and yet he has been pleased to grant it to me, a poor sinner, through this long and cold winter, a thing as I mentioned before in the fall of the year as looked very dark to me in my condition, whereas all those in prison heave been to the Hospital this winter, at one time or another, except myself oh how good and kind God has been to me in all this respect when so many are gon down into the silent greave, and there place here shall know them no more. Hear I am bound in gratitude to acknowledge that thears a strem, A contenoul stream of Mearcys running through all this my affliction.

Another thing I must look upon as a great favor the appartment where I lived being small and but five of us together where I was mor remote and not exposed to the noys and clamour of the times. And as it may be termed blackgard discourse a thing so much in fashion in this day. Whereas the Prophet Jeremiah speaks so expressly by reason of swearers the But inded it is plane and evidert this same vicee \* \* \*

About the latter end of April and ye first of May we had a spell of very fine wether, a thing not usual in this country; the river brock up near a month sooner than what it has in years past. John Clark that I mentioned before, that was in York prison when I came

from there, was in Quebec all winter, but guilt being a thing that will not go unpunished, and according to his behavior that crying sin of shedding of innocent blood seems to pursue him. Whereas he has no rest to the soles of his feet but harassed up and down like a vagabond. It being at this time the general thought of the people of this place that the English will be here this Summer. He could not expect other but to suffer if the English would take this place. Sick a bad penny he thought it his best way to return. Whereas he may be of if he is not re-taken again in giving notice of how it is with them at this present time.

*May ye 2.* He was mist: There was likewise one Capt. Stors and one Leut. Stephens and another young man that waited upon Mr. Stephens. They had the liberty of the town, whither they went with Clark and his family or not I cannot tell. They sent a command of men after them with speed both by sea and land, but hitherto to no purpose for they could not be found which keeps a stir in this place.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* fare distant from my dear friends and relations, and in this state of confinement. This fleet brought in a brigantine that they had taken on the Grand Bank, she was from port Bound for Newfoundland loded with salt and oyle, she belonged to Dartmouth in Old England. Three of the men are come to prison, but they have no news, it is months since they came from England.

*ye 19.* This morning the town Sargent came into prison and told us that in a little time we should go from Quebec. God grant this good news may be true. I am sure for my own part I should look upon it as a happy day. But to what part of the world we shall be sent I know not. But I think as far as I know my own heart I shall be content to go to any part of the world so that I may get out of this Egyptian Bondage and leave the event with him who knows all things best, and with Holy David say when under his afflictions and troubles: "Be merciful unto me, oh be merciful unto me for my soul trusteth in thee, and under the shadow of thy wings shall be my refuge until these calamities be over past. Deliver me, oh Lord, from mine enemies, for I flee unto thee to hide me: O keep my soul and deliver me: Let me not be confounded

for I have put my trust in thee. Mine eyes are ever looking unto the Lord for he shall pluck my foot out of the net, turn thou unto me and have mercy on me, for I am desolate and in misery. The sorrows of my heart are enlarged. Oh bring thou me out of my troubles. O just and holy Lord God who with Rebukes doth chasten us for sin. I desire unfeignedly to humble myself under thy mighty hand which now lies heavy upon me. I heartily acknowledge, O Lord, that all I do, all I can suffer, is but the due reward of my deeds. And, therefore, in the severest inflictions I must say righteous art thou oh God, and right are thy judgments. But, O Lord, I beseech thee in judgment remember mercy. And though my sins have enforced thee to strike, consider my weakness. And let not thy stripes be more heavy or more lasting than thou seest profitable to my soul. Correct me but with the chastisement for a Father, and not with the wounds of an enemy: And tho thou take not off thy rod yet take away thine anger. Lord do not abhor my soul, nor cast thy servant away in displeasure, but pardon my sins, I Beseech thee: And if yet in thy fatherly wisdom thou see fit to prolong thy corrections, thy blessed will be done. I cast myself, oh Lord, at thy feet, do with me what thou pleasest, try me as silver is tried so that thou bring me out purified. And Lord make even my flesh also to subscribe to this resignation: that there may be nothing in me that may rebel against thy hand but having perfectly suppressed all repining thoughts I may cheerfully drink of this cup: And how bitter soever thou shall please to make it, Lord let it prove a medicine and cure all the diseases of my soul, that it may bring forth to me the peaceable fruits of righteousness. That so those light afflictions which are but for a moment may work out for me a far more exceeding weight of glory through Jesus Christ my only Lord and Blessed Saviour to him be glory for ever and ever. Amen and Amen."

*May ye 20.* There was ten prisoners more brought to Quebec, they were taken off or near with Capt. Race in a Briganten. They came from Saint Johns in Newfoundland. They were taken by a french friget, with 24 guns, coming to this place. They gave us an account of the Rode Island Privateer that was into Saint John's, she went round to the Northward to cross in the Strates of Belisl; she mounted 16 guns. They likewise told us that the privateer's told

them that there was preparations making in Newfoundland for the Summers campaign, and that there was 20 sail of man-of-war coming over from England, as for the number of transports they could not tell so that we have so much news at present it is hard to believe which of them is true. These men likewise told us that they came from fegarey, in Portugal, they sailed from that in March, but their cargo was discharged, they were Bound out a fishing voiage. They also told us that the King of Spain was dead, which caused a great confusion in that kingdom between the French and them in ordain- ing another king. The Spaniards being for one man and the French for another. How it is with that Nation through this affair I know not. Whether they come in by royal blood or by election of the people. They say that our king is of the Speynerns choice in this affair, which is to be hoped will be a means of bringing them over to be of our king's side. Whereas the French had great dependence in the Spenayards joining with them this year. This brig belonged to Bristol, they sunke her.

*May ye 24th.* There was 4 ships arrived to Quebeck from France. They brought ten prisoners more that they had taken on the Banks, a schooner from Saint Martin's loded with salt and oil, Capt. Sweatland, commander. There is now about 24 or 26 sail of ships in this place, but none of any great matter or force.

*May ye 26.* We had account of our ships being in the river.

*May ye 28.* It was confirmed that there was a great number of ships, some says more and others less; but the people in this part of the country are in great confusion at this present time, and indeed according to the appearance of things they have great reason so to be. The people, I understand, are driving all their creatures into the woods, and moving their wives and children and goods. In Quebeck they are likewise erecting batries in sundry places to defeat our army in their intranchments. But oh that that God who has stiled himself a man of war would be pleased to appear for us and direct our Admirals and Gennerals in this great affair whearin our Nation so much depends in a particular manner in North America, which seems at present to be the seat of war. But to mention things of a regluar order one thing am like to forget—

*May ye 29.* Oure English officers were again leet out of prison, the next day they were carried about 30 leags farder up the River

to a place called the three Rivers, upon what account I cannot tell, without it is because of more seafty. But I understand that those sorts are but very meen. How it is to be with the rest of us God only knows. I understand there is no prisoners to be taken from this place till the campeign is over, let it be long or short.

*May ye 28.* There genneral came down from Mount Royal and brought the greater part of the troops with him. They say he has leaft but very few of the regular troops to defend them forts above, the Cannedeans and Indians must Defend them or surrender. It is a miserable time with the poor people in this place at present. Money is of no service, there is nothing to be bought. I seed six ounces of Bread sold hear in prison for 3s 10d sterling, brandy is 13s 4d per quart, and every other thing according to it ; as for scarce there is more to be had ; peas is £2 10s per bushel. Here is leaving indeed. But to mention things as I gow along, and things that I think are worthy of remark, is there first proceeding to erect a Battery upon a small point of Beatch near the Creek, to the Northward of Queback, but there coming in a great gale of wind which brought in such rapid tides that heald for some time that lead all these works flat to the ground. Another scheam they had contrived was to fix out a Ship with all manner of combustable stuff and send her down amongst our fleet and set her on fire. But in this affair they were frustrated, for just as they Had got there ship in order she took fire and was burnt up as she lay at anchor at Qubeck ; there was likewise two French men burnt in her. I think there seems to be a very great hand of providence at work against this people at this present time, in there new proceedings indeed to hear of the barbarous treatment that poor prisoners have met with while in the hands of this ne I may have great reason to say the most hard hearted and cruel to bring down the judgements of a Holy and Just God upon them, to hear how many of them has been murdered in cool blood and put out of the world after they had been made believe that they were giving them quarter. These things cannot gow unpunished. About the latter end of May and the beginning of June it pleased god to visit me with a very generous cold and a soer throat, and almost every one that ware in prison, a thing indeed that weant very hard with us in our poor conditions, our constitutions being so very weak through the hardships and difficulties we had underwent through a long and cold winter. And for



Doctors in this place they apply Nothing but bleeding and fisticing, and as for blood for own part I have but little of it, and indeed a poor place for one in the condition we are in to gather more.

*June ye 7.* There was foure prisoners more brought to Quebeck ; the were officers whether by sea or land I cannot tell. They were put into another prison so that we heave know news from them. About this time we hear that there is 150 sail of Ships about 15 leags distance from Quebeck, the French are in expectation of our English army every day, they are making all the preparations in this place they can. We likewise hear that Carrion is attacked with a great army—God grant them success. The ship that I mentioned before that was Burnt she was burnt the 8th of June, the night following there was more ships ceatched fire and weare burnt up. Three more they were obliged to sink, wheather the first ship that took fire was the occasion of the outthers being burnt or not I cannot tell. I think those things are worthy of observation, the Almighty seems to cast a frown upon these there proceedings. But as I mentioned But Just now of my being very much indisposed as to a steat of health and several others that live in the apartment whear I did, oure stomach being weak and nothing to eat but bread and salt fish.

And every thing being so veary scarce and seldom or ever anything to be bought at the market. One day it happened so that we heard of a calf to be sold we thought would imbrace that opportunity. I mention these things that if ever I should geet to New England again curiosity sake because of the price things this calf we had brought in alive and killed it in prison. The four quarters just weighed 20 weight ; the price of this calf was two guineas, and indeed we looked upon this to be no mean bargain in this miserable country.

Some calfs, but very little better than this, are sold hear for 2 guineas and a half. Now if any one of any consideration can think that money can be of aney sarves hear then I think it very strange, but for my own part

\* \* As the weather began to grow moderate and warm the scurvy was a thing that prevailed much among the people in prison, occasioned, I am apt to think, by the salt provision, and not only so, but there eating of the broth, a thing so prejudice to health ; but for my own peart I did not make use of such dieat, although indeed nead enough of it. But the greater part of the prisoners had nothing to

subsist nature but there bare allowance for a man to live 24 hours without any thing else. But for my own part to buy a pint of milk when the season come that we would geet it—a thing I knew that and good for the blood with any other thing somewhat. The price in summer was 15 sols per queart, but in winter dearer.

If I was in an English country I should look upon it as very deer, but in this place I think it is as cheep a thing as there is to be had. But indeed the indisposition I mentioned before that prevailed so much amongst the people in prison, a thing occasioned by their hard living, and indeed as for their hospitals they attend the sick, as I have heard them say that has been to them, is so mean that they are hardly worth going to ; but the doctors will do nothing for any one without they are there, and by what I understand they do nothing but blood and physick. One thing I canot but mention is Edward Simpson, Capt. Growes' mate, who died in Quebec, as I mentioned before, he lay sick for the great part of the winter at the Hospital

\* \* Ashore, they being but just com up and their anchor not settled in the ground. The next morning we had news by the French that seven or eight of our ships wor drove ashore and all the men lost, one of which they said was a 74 gun ship ; this I looked upon to be melancholy news, they coming so fare up this difficult river and meet with this misfortune at last. But indeed as to the French there is but little truth in aney thing they say, for in a short time this was contradicted ; but indeed some say there is one drove ashore, a ship of 30 guns, whether that is true or not I cannot tell, but I cannot look upon this to be a day of

God's judgments are abroad in the world, men contriving ways to destroy one another. Ever envieting new sehemcs for this intent. By this time they had contrived a new set of fire ships in order to destroy our fleet, but I think there seems to be still a hand of providence at work against this people.

*June ye 28.* About one at night this thing was put in execution, but to know purpose. They had got not far from the town when they sot their fire to work, it being a good servant but a very bad master, it now got the upper hand and pnt all that they could get out of the way, two of their ships were set on fire and burnt which burnt ; here was three ships, three seuners and two battows,

eight in number. This is the third time they have been dissappointed in their new Schoner.

*July ye 1.* This day, about 10 or 11 in the forenoon, I heard a great number of cannon a little before night, and Samuel Kilpeatrick came in from the hospital and told us that ocasion of these cannon was by a great number of French that were going from the north side of the river to the south side in Battows, as our (artillery) were landed there; but it being flood tide and a high geal of wind to the eastward, that two of our ships hove and came up with the tide meet them to a retreat. Whether they have any of them or not I cannot tell, the hospital being close to the river that he has a vew of the whole. The next day one John Latton came in likewise from the hospital, he told me there was a considerable number of wounded men Brought into the hospital, Both french and Indians, this they met with upon an Island about a League below the town, where I understand they had a small skirmish with our people, and by what I can lern they got but little by it. He likewise told me there was 26 or 27 of our Ships in sight of the town that he see, which gives me great Incouragement to hope that I soon shall have deliverance out of this place for our trouble for I believe we shall be kept in this prison through this seeg where we shall be very much exposed, but God is all sufficient to preserve me in this place as anywhere ealse. He weighs the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance, and is everywhere present.

*July ye 3.* We were confined to small apertment in the Prison, about 14 foot one way and 8 the other, With 3 Beds and the Rest of oure small Necessaries, there being Nine of us in Number, Capt. Wally, Capt. Sweatland, Capt. Grow, Capt. Mayors, Capt. Hoborn, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Stadford, Thomas Colley, a young lade, a Rousomer (or prisoner) and my sealf. That according to the old saying we are as thick as three in a bed. Now could any one of Reason suppose how much we could long for liberty—and no conveniency—looking through these Iron grates like so many malefactors till our cheek Bons are grown thine.

*July ye 4.* We had news that our Admiral and General had sent in a flag, so that we have reason to think that this offer will soon be

put into execution. It has now been a pretty still time for several days together; but geneareally after a ealm comes a storm.

*July ye 8.* Part of our army landed on the north side of the River below a large fall of water that runs out of the country, which I believe will prove somewhat effectuel for them to get over—the french having a very strong encampment on the other side

fiet against them down

\* \* \* any but I shall set nothing down without credit.

*July ye 19.* Four of our frigates in the night went up by the town and passed all there cannon which it is to be thought are of a mind to come round upon the back of the city.

*July 20.* This day has been pretty about 9 at night then our army on the south side of the river began to throw in shells in great plenty, they fell round us on every corner which indeed very awful

in the morning we sent an address by the keeper to Governor stating that if he did not provide a place of more safety for us we would break out. About eleven o'clock the town major came into prison and told us that he had been to the General that has been in camp on this account, and likewise they would send to our General that if he would exchange, he having a number of these people, and if not they would put us into a place of more safety. About four in the afternoon the major came to the prison again and told us that the General did not see fit to exchange at that present time, a thing we did not expect he would at such a time as this is, he likewise told us that we must keep ourselves contented as they had no other place of safety, a most barbarous piece of cruelty a number of people confined in a place as if they were set up to be fired upon

of the prisoners that he would remove a few of us and for his security we would enter into bonds that if any of us offered to make the least attempt to escape we would suffer death, there being eight of us in number the names of whom I shall set down, Captain Wally, Capt. Sweatland, Mr. Sandford, from Bristol, Capt. Mayors, and Mr. Hawes, from Boston; Capt. Grow and myself from Old York. But whether it will avail anything or not I cannot tell. The night following was held in a continual fire from the camp

upon the city, both shot and shells, the French fired but little for the night.

*July ye 24.* It continues very still ; about eight in the evening, then our people on the south side of the river began to fire in on the city as fast as they could throw them, both shot and shells, some of our people kept an account of one hundred and five that were thrown in by twelve at night—all shells and shot in great plenty. Two they sent through the roof of the prison, but there was none received any damage. The French fired but very little.

*The 25.* This morning we heard considerable number of Cannon back of the city, what the occasion of it was I cannot tell, this day our people has fired but moderately, and the French hardly any at all ; but as soon as night came on our people began to fire again which all night.

*Ye 26.* This day they have been pretty moderate and nothing remarkable has happened. There was a young child about five months old died in prison this day. A little before night there was another prisoner brought in, one of the Rangers, he was caught on the south side by a small party of Frenchmen ; he gave us an account that the body of our army were on the south side of the river, and by what he could understand the whole of the army would be moved that way very soon, notwithstanding our people had a very strong battery there, and a number of fine cannon, likewise mortars, but the falls that I mentioned before was very difficult to get over, and not only that but there was another small river they had to cross before they could come at the town. They likewise had accounts by a French deserter that the French had laid trains of powder along this river in order to blow up our army if they came that way ; he likewise told us that our people on the south side of the river had crost over the river above the town, and had taken a small battery of six guns, and that about five or six days before they had accounts from the army above, but how things went there he could not tell ; but he understood that in a short time they expected from them ; he likewise told us that they expected a considerable more help by water, some of which were arrived. But the night coming on the time they seem to do most business our people begin

to throw in the shells and shot very fast, sometimes six and sometimes seven shells fired all at once, but the French fired any for the night.

*Ye 27.* This day our people have been very moderate, as it has for the most part been their usual way by day, hitherto, but by night they generally fetch it up. About one o'clock the commissary of the army came into prison to see the situation we were in, and as for a place of more safety for us, they had the country not being provided with such places of safety for prisoners as in England, France and many other parts of the world. But as to our request to be moved any distance out of the city they could not; neither did he look upon it safe for us to desire such a thing; the Indians being about in great plenty they would surely kill us at such a time as this when their blood was so hot. About four in the afternoon we had an answer from the French General in the camp concerning our petition, but indeed not agreeable to our minds, the contents were as thus: That he had no other place of safety for us, a thing that some here now in prison know to the contrary, that have been prisoners here before, but this they keep for their own people, so that we have made all the interest that possibly we can at sundry times, but all in vain. A little before midnight there were two prisoners more brought in. They belonged to one of the light infantry company there being of them in number going with orders to another battery; they met with a party of Frenchmen, four of the seven that shot dead before they see them, another they wounded, the two that were left fired upon them, one they killed and wounded another.

These men could give but little account of things they told us that the day before they were taken they were out with a party of 300 men, and they took 350 prisoners—men, women and children, and about one hundred head of cattle and some sheep. The women and children they sent into the city, but the men they put on board the ships.

*July 28.* This morning our people have fired a vast number of shot and shells into the city, but hardly any have been returned back from the French. The latter part of the day our people were more moderate, but the night they improved as well. This day we wrote another petition to the Commissary to desire his assistance in

our behalf as to provide a place for us of more safety, the place where we now lived being so extremely dangerous, where the shot has made several breeches in the house, and shells flying round us in great plenty. The contents of our petition being as this: There being eight of us in number, that for a security we would all as one person enter into a Bond for our good behaviour, and if any of us offered to make the least attempt to escape they should inflict what punishment they see proper upon us. And now blessed be God who has preserved me to the close of another week, that he is allowing me longer time. Oh that I may have wisdom and grace given me to improve the precious time; that I yet                    to the glory of God and the good of my soul.

*Sunday, July ye 29.* This day our people have hove in more shot and shells, I think, than any one day since they have been in this place, by which the houses have received a great deal of damage. The French made no resistance from the city. A little before night two of our ships came up within shot of the town. The night our people were more moderate.

*Monday ye 30.* The first part of this day things have been pretty still till about twelve o'clock. Then they began to fire very smartly on both sides, which held for sometime, but the French soon began to fly. The English held at it all night.

*Tuesday, ye 31 July.* The English keeps continually firing into the city from the south side. About twelve two frigets and a 70 gun ship went down ofe with the falls to the Westward of which the French have a Battery close down to the water side, which hinders our army from getting over, and the most of the French army is on that side; the friget ran in as near as they could and began to fire very smartly, and likewise the 70 gun ship, and the Battery which held all the afternoon. Our army had a design by their actions to land that afternoon, there being a vast number of boats cruising back and forth. About six in the evening the boats rowed close in with the shore which caused us to think they were going to land as we could see the whole that was acted from the prison; but just as our army was about to land there came up a very great shower, whether this hindered them or not I cannot tell; but the Boats all moved off very soon. About seven the innermost ship took fire, which indeed looked very melancholy, and about half an hour after the other ship

took fire also. The thing of itself looked very dark to see these two ships all on fire. But God has many ways of working, and this disappointment, if I may so call it, may be all for the best in causing this shower to rise just at this juncture of time, but these ships we took them to be frigets, but I understand since they were two old ships, that they ran up as far as they could for the same intent, if they could get them off again well, and if not they had orders to set them on fire. This afternoon there has been some thousand of shot fired, the night following our people on the south side hove in a great number of shells.

*Wednesday, August ye 1.* This day they have been very still on both sides, but little firing. There has been a vast number of horses and carts come out of the country this day, and gone over to their grand encampment; what the occasion of it is I cannot tell. We have had some slight news this day that our army above have got within 15 leagues of Mount Royal, whether it be so or not I cannot tell; but these people moving down at such a great plenty just at this present time causes one to think there is some truth in it.

*Thursday, August ye 2.* There has nothing happened this day remarkable, the first part of it our people hove in a pretty many shot and shells, but from about twelve till six in the evening there has been nothing at all. This afternoon the French sent a flag of truce to our General, but on what account I cannot tell, for they keep everything so private that they allow no body to speak to us. This night they hove in a great many shell and shot. But, indeed, according to my weak judgment this scheme will never do; all they can do is only to beat down the houses, but this will not take the place, there being hardly any people in the city so that there is but very few lives lost. The French seldom fire a shot. Many are the ways by which men come to their end, but sure I am that all must die, as are the words of Job: "Man that is born of a woman  
" is of few days and full of trouble, he cometh forth like a flower  
" and is cut down, he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not." This is the frailty of man. In this chapter he mentions, also, as to a tree that if it be cut down yet through the sap that is in the root, it may sprout and grow again. But with man the case is quite different, after death his state is intolerably fixed, yea man giveth up the ghost and where is he? Some there are that bring themselves to



an untimely end. I see instances of it in this place. One almost every day sees men executed for deserting from their colours, and, indeed, these men's living is so mean I do not wonder at it, and their work very hard, their allowance is the same as the prisoners, one pound of bread and half of pork per day, which is poor living, and they give them but short time to consider of these things, some are taken one night and hanged, the next day at this time sickness prevails much among the people in prison, occasioned, I am apt to think, by the place of our lodging, it being so extrem ill so far under ground which any one of reason must allow it to be very hurtful to health; two of my messmates at this time are very sick, Mr. Hawes is gone to the hospital with a great fever, Capt. Mayors is yet in prison but very ill with a great purging, and several others in the like condition; how soon it may be my turn God only knows. But I am bound in gratitude at this time, as well as at all other times, to bless and praise his great and Reverend name for that great measure of health that I yet enjoy, when so many of my fellow mortals with pale faces are hanging about those walls, a melancholy sight, spending away our precious time in this miserable condition. But I would not be understood to murmur or repine at this sore visitation, nor think it lost time; but I hope God will give me to see that in all this he meant it for my good. But, alas, to my shame I may look back and view those precious days and seasons of grace that I have slighted. Whereas I may say I am now left alone, separated from those means of grace which I once enjoyed, and at this present time I am far separated from my dear wife and children, which it is very hard to hear from one another, at present we cannot. Oh that God would bring that happy day about when we may see the faces of one another again. Many are the wearisome nights and days I have spent in this condition, well may I apply my case so that the seventh Chapter of Job. Is there not an appointed time for man upon the earth? Are not his days, also, like the days of an hireling? As a servant earnestly desireth the shadow, and as an hireling looketh for the reward of his work, so am I made to possess months of vanity and wearisome nights are appointed to me. When I lie down I say when shall I arise and the night be gone? And I am full of tossing to and fro unto the dawning of the day. My flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust, my skin is broken and become loathsome. My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle: And are spent without

hope. Oh remember that my life is wind. Mine eye shall no more see good. The eye of him that hath seen me shall see me no more. Thine eyes are upon me, and I am not. As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more. Therefore I will not refrain my mouth, I will speak in the anguish of my spirit, I will complain in the bitterness of my soul. Am I a sea or a whale that thou settest a watch over me? My couch shall ease my complaint, then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions. So that my soul chooseth strangling and death rather than life. I loth it, I would not live alway: Let me alone for my days are vanity. What is man that thou shouldst magnify him, and that thou shouldst set thine heart upon him, and that thou shouldst visit him every morning and try him every moment? How long will thou not depart from me, nor let me alone till I swallow down my spittle. I have sinned, what shall I do unto thee, oh thou preserver of men, why hast thou set me as a mark against thee so that I am a burden to myself. And why dost thou not pardon my transgressions, and take away mine iniquity for now shall I sleep in the dust. And thou shall seek me in the morning but I shall not be.

But why need I set down those things. Blessed be God that altho' I am in the hands of my enemies, yet his word is not Bound but I have it to converse with every day.

*Friday, August 3.* This day there has nothing happened any way strange. In the afternoon there was a great number of horses and carts came into the town with barrels of floer, where they came from I cannot tell; some say from Murriall. The French sent out another flag this afternoon.

There has nothing happened any way remarkable now for several days together. Our army on the south keeps continually firing shot and shells into the city. Sickness prevails very much amongst the prisoners yet, through their hard living; nothing to eat but a little bread and salt pork and water to drink, and had people money there is nothing to be bought at this time. There is one or another going to the hospital every day. Mr. Hawes, of Boston, one of my mess-mates, that I mentioned before, that went to the hospital sick of a fever, died the 6 of August. Capt. Mayors, another of our little

family, was carried to the hospital the 7th instant. Whose turn it will be next God only knows. God grant that those of us that are left may be prepared for such a time.

*The 8th.* We had a flying news that Carriony was taken, but there is so much news going it is hard to believe anything, so that I do not set it down for a truth.

*The 9th.* This morning our people hove in a great number of shot and shells and caruses into the city, by which a considerable number of houses took fire, the greatest fire that I have seen yet in this place. So that I look upon it in a short time if this place is not taken the buildings will be but little worth if they go on in this manner. I heard there were 20 houses laid in ashes this day. The night following was improved by a continual firing into the city. The same day our people on the north side had a considerable skirmish which held for five or six hours, we could see the smoke of their guns from the prison, but how the battle went I cannot tell. I heard they had taken five prisoners, but they are not brought to this prison.

*The 11th.* This morning they had another skirmish on the north side, but this held for a short time; how this went I cannot tell. About 12 this day we had news that General Amherst, with his army, was got down as far as the three rivers. I wish this good news may be true. In the evening we had news by the sentry that kept the prison, that the Battle they had this morning proved very bad to their side. As to the number of French and Indians that were out he could not tell. But to my way of thinking, according to the number of guns that were fired, there was a considerable number on both sides, as I heard the report of them from the prison, but let there be more or less our people cut them all off but one man that made his escape, altho' he was very badly wounded. This I have reason to think is true, because they are never willing to own anything that goes hard of their side, but are always for making things better than they generally are on their side. About eleven at night the French fired a considerable of cannon, occasioned, as we heard the next day, by some of our ships that went past the town.

*The 12th.* This day has been somewhat stormy, so that there has been but little firing.

*August ye 14.* We moved again up into another apartment of the prison, the place where we were taken being so extremely ill for our health, that we thought it safer to trust to God for the event of what would happen than to lodge in such a place where our health was so much exposed. But this was not all. After we had moved down into this place a considerable number of the others came. But, indeed, their company was not agreeable. By what we could understand they were in mind to set about a very bad scheme. There being a considerable quantity of wine and brandy in the next room, a thing that some will venture even their lives for; whether this thing was put in action or not I won't say, but I think it is wisdom in every one to chose the best of company, so we thought it our best way to withdraw from such for fear of what might happen though ignorant of the thing.

About this time we likewise hear that our people have got a Battery upon the north side above the town. But I greatly fear there will be nothing done occasion, the season being so far spent, and by what I can learn by them that have been lately taken, that our army in this place are not sufficient to encounter with this people  
from the south
side of the river, but the French seldom or ever fire a gun.

*The 18th* instant the commander of the place came into prison to see what the prisoners wanted, as to about that those that were destitute might be supplied; and likewise to see how those were attended to by the Doctors that were sick. What the reason can be this present time I know not. But they are very attentive to what their usual way has been in time past. There was also a Captain of one of the frigets come in with him, he spoke very good English, and showed attention to what we said how much we were exposed to the shells and and shot; he advised us to write a letter to the Governor and another to General Wolf to see if he would make an exchange of us, he told us that he would come and carry it himself. We took his advise in this affair.

*The 19th August,* It was written. The contents were this: That the condition we are in at present was extreme ill, where we were hourly very much exposed, both to the shot and shells, and that we had petitioned at the sundry times to the Governor and likewise to the General to be removed into a place of more safety, but their

answer to us again was that they had it not for us, and now that his honour would take our case into consideration and make an exchange for us if he see proper, as he had by far a greater number of prisoners than they had of us.

*The 20 instant.* The Interpreter came in again and we sent them out, but whether he will be so kind as to send them to General Wolf or not I cannot tell. This gentleman likewise told us that the houses in the city were very much shattered to pieces. The fire that I mentioned before that, was on the ninth of this month. He told us that they damage was computed to a million livers, which amounts to about £41,666.16/ sterling. But he says there has been but few lives lost, he likewise told us that our people were building two Battrys more on the south side of the River, opposite to the city.

But as for saying they had lost but very few men I dont much wonder at it, for they are a people very much given to lying and are always making things better on their part than what they are.

In the evening three of the prisoners came in from the hospital which gave us an account that there was a great number of sick and wounded men there of which a considerable number died, four and five almost every day. They likewise told us that they had news at the Hospital that our people had taken sixty Battows coming down the river loaded with flour if this news be true. I look upon it to be a sore breach upon this people at this present time, when provision is so much in demand, and I look upon it that if this place should not be taken this season, that this people must of necessity be in a miserable state, as I have reason to think our army will tarry as late as the season will let them, so that they will destroy all the fruits of the earth that according to the appearance of things the famine will be more greivous to this people this winter than the war has been during the summer. The season here has been extraordinary good both for corn and grass as ever I think I saw it in New England, both for showers and likewise sunshine—very temperate weather.

*August the 22.* We desired the prison keeper to go to the Governor and see if he had sent our petition to General Wolf. When he came back he told us that the Governor nor yet the General would not send for any such thing at this present time, and that

if the place was not taken, that in a short time our army would move off, there they would send to General Wolf for these people that he had prisoners, and doubtless then we shall be exchanged.

This day there was another prisoner brought in but he could give but little account of anything ; it is my opinion that with such men there mind is more after grog, as they call it, than it is about news, either one sort or another.

*August the 24.* This morning our people on the north side below the falls began to burn and destroy the buildings very fast. The after part of the day was farther down, at a place called Saint Anns where I understand there is a considerable town, the matter of a hundred house in a body, this seemed to be all on fire. It is shocking to see the desolation that is made in these places ; but according to the appearance of things in a short time there will be a great alteration in this place before long, at present everything is going to ruin.

*August the 24* was held in the like manner, a vast number laid in ashes. From the south side of the river they keep a constant firing into the city.

*August the 27.* Capt. Mayors came in from the hospital, he told me that there had been a great many people died there, almost all wounded men, three and four almost every day ; yet these people will not own that they have lost any men. He likewise told me that it was the general talk among the people there that there would be an exchange of prisoners in a short time if the place was not. The commander being very uneasy concerning their wives and children that our people then had prisoners on board the ships and that if General MonColom would not exchange them they would absolutly go to them. Another thing that must needs be very discouraging to this people to see all their interest burning before their eyes, a most affecting time it will be in this land if this place is not taken. Bread at this present time is 2s and 6d sterling per pound, but it is seldom or ever that there is any to be sold ; nor any other thing. About eleven at night there was very smart firing, both English and French, which held for sometime. The next day we heard that there was four ships more went up the town, one of them was a 74 gun ship, that caused the firing during the night.

*August ye 31.* The town sergent told us he had orders from the Governor to make a search for all our papers, and carry them to him. The thing he completed according to his order, paper, ink and pens and everything of that kind, excepting this small Pamphlet of mine, that when he was in search of the rest I hid it under the straw bed, the rest he took with him.

*September ye 1.* Our people on the north side below the falls made an end of burning the houses.

*September the 2* they began to take off their artillery as seeing they could not well come at the French there. Indeed my weak opinion has all along been that these falls have proved the strongest battery they had in this place. But as for news at present it is little or none we can have, for every one here are ordered not to speak to any prisoner on any account. The Doctor that attended the prison being a man somewhat free to speak his mind he told us he would be glad how soon the country would be given up, for the view he had of it was that if it was not the people would be in a terrible condition; he told us he had a wife and children and little or nothing to give them, as they have nothing but their allowance, and I am very sure any one will say it is small enough to have it. Two ounces of bread a meet nor anything else, a bread they say can be sold in the city for 3 and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  sterling a pound, and very rair to be got. Now any one of reason may judge what a condition the people are in.

*September the 3.* We were all locked up; we asked the reason of these things of the prison keeper. He told us he had orders from the Governor for so doing. We understood by him that they expected the English would storm the town very soon.

*September the 4.* We were cut short of our allowance, three quarters of bread and half of pork per day; and likewise their own troops. We have heard some flying news that if the seige holds out to the fifteenth of this month (September) this place will be given up. But as to the truth of this I will not say.

The occasion of our being confined, as I understood, was by some of the Ruffians as I may well call them, whose tongues can never be still, although it is to their own hurt, they being so free in their talk, and making their brags that if this place should be taken Mr.

Lorais should be the first man they would strip. So this is our case at present that the Innocent must suffer with the Guilty; but I would hope that our time in this condition will not be long.

*September the 8.* There were four ships more went up by the town about three in the morning they went past.

There are now nineteen or twenty sail of ships gone up this river what their view is in so doing I know not. Those of us who were confined in the apartment where I was, had our liberty restored to us again, that is, we had liberty again to walk in the yard as usual, but the rest were all confined to their rooms. The symptoms of poverty and I must say of famine are daily to be seen in this place. The very troops, I have seen kill the cats to eat as they run about the town, a most lamentable time it is upon every account. Maple sugar is sold here for 8s 9d per pound. Butter is 5s 3d, but rare to be had at that.

There has nothing happened anyway strange now for several days, things have been very still. But

*September the 13.* About 5 in the morning they began up above the town to fire pretty smartly, at what distance I cannot say for we could only hear the report of their guns; about ten the battle began very smart with a continual fire which held till after 12, by which I cannot but think there is a considerable number on both sides gone into eternity. But by what I could learn our army got the better of it seems by the report of their arms they seemed to be drove close home to the city to us, and the French on all hands looking very melancholy. The after part of the day things were pretty still on both sides, so that it is to be hoped that if our army can hold their ground that this affair will soon come to a close.

*The 14th* This morning we were all again confined to our rooms. The first part of the day everything was very still. The afternoon the French on the north side began to destroy their work, by blowing up their Batterys, our fleet and Army having them hemmed in now on every quarter, so that in accordance with every appearance of things, with the blessing of God, this affair will soon come to an end. But indeed to see poor women with child, another in her arms and the third leading in her hand is very melancholy. I think I have reason and can sympathize with any in their troubles and difficulties



in this day whereas I think I have had a large share which have been now two years this very day far distant from my dear wife and children which causes me many a melancholy hour.

*September the 15.* It is late, no news that I can hear, but by what I can learn, our army is intrenching very near the city walls. This day the French have been clothing all their troops and little or no firing on either side. A little before night there was another prisoner brought in that was taken the day the battle was fought. He gave us some account of how the battle went. He told us that General Wolfe was killed, which I am very sorry to hear and so ought every one of us to be—to reflect upon the great loss, such an excellent man for war as General Wolf was. Who, by the report I have heard of him by the soldiers, they all give him excellent

He likewise told us that General Moncolm was killed and their Governor and Lieutenant Governor with 24 more of their officers were taken prisoners, and they judged 500 of the French killed and a great many taken prisoners. The battle began early in the morning, our army drove the enemy above four miles before the hight of the battle began. They were then not above a mile from the city, close by the G in a fine level field, and from what I can learn it was as dreadful a battle as ever was fought in North America. The body of met them in the front, the light infantry and rangers so wrought upon the right wing where they had Two fires, after the fire the Granadeers and highlanders ran in upon them and cut them down in great numbers. They likewise took the General Hospital and most of their Doctors and all their druggs, so that they have nothing to apply now, nothing for the sick and wounded. These two Generals fell near about one and the same time and died very near together. General Wolfe was shot in the body in three or four places, he said General Mon was wounded and a prety in, but we had still many may General Murray has the command now of the for

*September the 16.* We were cut short quarter of a pound of bread and one pound of salt pork.

In the rotting grave; and whose soul I hope and trust is now in Heaven, who has died like a brave soldier in the defence of his king

and country, and I hope under God has been or at least although dead, will be the means of bringing popery down in this land.

But here I would not take up any more paper than what is needful.

*September the 19.* About 4 in there came into prison  
 some one of the men of and made a demand  
 of the ners. We were all called and told that those wo were-  
 taken by land would appear before the General, and those taken by  
 sea to appear before the Admiral.

## HISTORY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA.

*By Rev. Geo. W. Hill, D.C.L., Chancellor of the University of Halifax.*

No. II.

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The declaration of independence made by certain British Colonies, in North America, on the fourth of July, A.D. 1776, exerted a great influence on the still small and struggling settlement of Halifax. Difficulties, perhaps, not unforeseen, but not fully anticipated, had prevented the hoped-for growth and the early solidification of the young establishment on the shores of one of the most famous harbors of the world. Several elements contributed to the partial failure of the project; first, the class of emigrants, taken as a whole was not of that character which was needful for the subjection of a new country, being, to a large extent, composed of disbanded soldiers who, from boyhood, had led a roving life, and had all their actual wants supplied by the government, and of adventurous, for the most part penniless, Germans, induced to try the new country by certain advantages proclaimed in somewhat enticing wordy advertisements. Then, secondly, the fact that within the boundary lines of Acadia there were the French inhabitants who, by industry and frugality, had built up homes in which were provided every comfort that simple peasants could desire, and who were, induced, partly by a feeling of nationality, partly by a feeling of self-interest to look with envious eye and hostile feelings upon those whom they considered as intruders upon the land. As a third element were the Indians, the aboriginies, the undoubted owners of the soil, who, influenced by the kindly manners and open-hearted actions of the French, from the landing of DeMonts at Port Royal, in 1604, were on terms of the most intimate friendship with them. It was not unnatural that a

bond of union—not easily broken—should be formed between them ; it was so, and hence arose no small obstacle to the development of the infant British Colony. Now, these facts will account for the extraordinary diminution of the population of Halifax, as given by the Rector of St. Paul's to the imperial authorities. It had dwindled down at one time to twelve hundred, and it is doubtful whether it rose at all until 1776. It is possible that it may have done so, but it was not until some time had elapsed that any noticeable increase took place. It was an unsettled place in which to live ; some who had come to Halifax with the intention of making it their home abandoned it, because of the hostility of the Indians and French, some because they did not like the toil to which they were subjected in order to earn their bread : and others because, though they were willing to work, they thought that they might do better in the small harbors and coves to the east and west of Halifax, by prosecuting the business of catching and curing fish, and others believed that attention to agriculture would best reward their toil, and so rambled up to the already cultivated and fertile soil in the present counties of Kings, Hants and Annapolis whither Governor Lawrence invited those who were willing to occupy the homesteads of the expatriated Acadians. These causes, in some measure, account for the very small population often noted in the official returns of the Rector of St. Paul's. With the revolution a new era dawned upon the Province. Not uniting with the revolting colonies in opposition to the Imperial measures but remaining loyal to the crown and British constitution, Nova Scotia became the asylum for hundreds who desired to continue under the British flag. In 1776 the whole population could scarcely have amounted to five thousand inhabitants, for we find that two years afterward when some stir had taken place it only reached to "about that number." In this latter year there were two hundred baptisms, eighty marriages and not less than three hundred and twenty burials. In 1776 it was found necessary to be more strict with reference to the interment of the dead, and a resolution was passed "that no person be buried in the old Burial Ground, "nor the church bell to be tolled for any funeral in future without "permission from the church wardens " It is probable that a bell had just been purchased as this is the first mention made of it. This measure does not seem to have had the desired effect for in the following spring (Mar. 31, 1777) another resolution was passed in

the following terms, "that every person of whatever denomination  
"who shall order the church bell to be tolled for the funeral of any  
"deceased relation or friend shall pay towards the expenses of the  
"repairs of the church five shillings, and also, that all strangers who  
"shall chuse that their deceased relation or acquaintance shall be  
"buried in the enclosed burying ground shall pay towards the ex-  
"pense of keeping the said ground enclosed, the sum of ten shillings."

In this year died a man who played a very conspicuous part in moulding the institutions of this province and was a most zealous and wise counsellor in ecclesiastical matters, the Hon. Jonathan Belcher, a son of Governor Belcher of Massachusetts; he received the appointment of Chief Justice of Nova Scotia in 1754. It was he who urged upon the Government the necessity of calling a Representative Assembly, being of opinion that the Governor and Council did not possess the power of passing ordinances for levying taxes. The early enactments of the Legislature, which form the groundwork of the Statute law of Nova Scotia were prepared by him. With a good deal of anxious work and much responsibility thrown upon him, he was among the foremost of those who took a lively interest in the Church. He only lived until he reached sixty-five years of age, leaving one daughter and one son—Andrew—who, like his father identified himself in after years with the Parish church, overlooking its repairs and enlargement and presenting it with several valuable gifts, of which mention must in the proper order be made. It ought to be known by the present and future generations of Nova Scotia that this talented jurist who spent the best part of his life in a struggling colony was the grandfather of that well known naval officer, who,—notwithstanding the difficulties in which he entangled himself in the Arctic expedition,—was a distinguished navigator and an heroic sailor, Sir Edward Belcher.

It appears that some persons in those early days had taken upon themselves to do that which has often given trouble in later times, viz: the transference of their pews to others without the sanction or knowledge of the church authorities, hence, at a meeting of the wardens and vestry held July 7th, 1777, it was "resolved that no person in future shall transfer their pews without leave from the minister and church wardens first obtained."

It was in the year 1779 that the Reverend Jacob Bailey, surnamed the "Frontier Missionary," arrived as a refugee in Halifax and was

most kindly looked after by the Rector and other members of the community. In a note of the S. P. G., after referring to the pitiable condition in which Mr. Bailey and his family found themselves upon their reaching this friendly colony, it is added "But through the humanity of private persons (more especially from Dr. Breynton) and by a vote of £50, currency, from the assembly of the Province, they have been in some measure relieved, and find their spirits again reviving." It will give some little idea of the type of man which Dr. Breynton was to quote some passages from the memoir of the life of the Reverend Jacob Bailey, A. M. In his journal the "Frontier Missionary" thus described some of the incidents of the day of his landing at Halifax from on board the wretched vessel in which he and his family had been passengers. "In a few minutes after we "were favored with a visit from the polite and generous Dr. "Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's church, in Halifax. . He addressed "us with that ease, freedom and gentleness peculiar to himself. His "countenance exhibited a most finished picture of compassionate "good-nature and the effusions of tenderness and humanity glistened "in his venerable eyes when he had learned part of our history. He "kindly assured us that he most heartily congratulated us upon our "fortunate deliverance from tyranny, oppression and poverty, and he "declared that we might depend on his attention and assistance to "make us comfortable and happy. The turn of his features, and the "manner of his expression afforded a convincing evidence of his sin- "cerity, and the events afterwards gave me undeniable demonstra- "tion that I was not mistaken in my favorable conjectures." That day Dr. Breynton busied himself in behalf of the family, finding suitable lodgings for them, introducing Mr. Bailey to the Governor, Hon. Mr. Franklin, and cheering him and his wife with the prospect of protection and comfort; nor did he restrict himself to prefatory duties, but out of his own purse aided these poor people. On his way to Government House he took the refugees into his lodgings, at Mrs. Fletcher's, and presented him "with a beaver almost new," and on taking leave of the Governor, Dr. Breynton (says Mr. Bailey in his journal) "presented me with a couple of jo's, and who could "believe it, my simple heart danced within me at the appearance of "gold." On the 22nd June, the day after the arrival of this clergyman and his family, we find the following notes in his journal: "This morning, after breakfast, received another visit from the good

“ Doctor, who informed me that he had provided us with an habitation, and desired me to attend him in order to view it. The house which the doctor procured belonged to Mr. Justine Wenman, keeper of the Orphan House, and stood on the east side of Pleasant Street which runs straight from the Grand Parade, near the church, to the water, and is almost a mile in length.” The Rector of St. Paul's was so much pleased with Mr. Bailey that he offered him the position of his assistant at a salary of “ £70 sterling per year, besides a school with an hundred more.” Mr. Bailey declined this position and accepted the situation as missionary at Cornwallis, a post which he occupied until 1782, when he was removed to Annapolis, of which town and parish he was rector for just quarter of a century. That Dr. Breynton proved a true friend to him, and did what lay in his power to advance the interests of this somewhat eccentric man, is amply shown by the journal, portions of which have just been cited. Several years after an unhappy arrangement in reference to an army chaplaincy led Mr. Bailey to think that our friend, Dr. Breynton, was taking advantage of his superior position to retain the berth for a clergyman who was rendering him assistance in his clerical duties. I feel sure that Mr. Bailey was unjust in his decision, as we shall, I think, presently see.

In 1780 the population had so increased that it became necessary to provide more church accomodation than St. Paul's could afford, and five gentlemen, Messrs. William Shaw, Richard Cunningham, Butler, Bulkely and the Collector, Newton, were “ chosen as a committee to enquire into the state of the church, and see whether or not it might be enlarged by making some additional seats.” This reads rather curiously in connection with a most sweeping resolution passed six years before which, no doubt, was intended to settle the question not only for the living generation but for all posterity, “ That no alteration be made in the pews in St. Paul's church in future.” It is a striking comment on the supposed permanent power of such a decision that in less than a century not one of the old pews was left, either as to position or form. The necessity for increasing the sittings in the church was so pressing that in November of the preceding year (1791) Dr. Breynton wrote to the authorities in England, under whom he served, “ That as Halifax is the asylum of loyal refugees, the inhabitants are greatly increased and the public duty proportionately affected by it, so that the church is now too small to hold the congregation.”

At this time, and indeed from the settlement of the town, Mr. Richard Bulkeley appears to have taken a deep interest in church matters and to have acted sometimes as churchwarden and sometimes as a vestryman. He was the first warden appointed after the erection, by law, of St. Paul's as a parish, and three months before his death he was re-elected senior vestryman. It is well to note that Mr. William Nesbit, who also came out with the expedition and was speaker of the House of Assembly for many years, was elected at the same time to be his brother warden. Because of his intimate connection with St. Paul's for half a century and more, and the valuable services which he rendered to the parish during that long period, it will be in accord with the design of these notes to furnish a brief record of his career in the colony. Mr. Bulkeley was a native of Ireland, who accompanied Governor Cornwallis to Nova Scotia as aid-de-camp in 1749. About ten years afterward he was appointed Secretary of the Province, which office he filled with great ability for thirty four years, when he was permitted to resign it in favor of his son, Michael Freke Bulkeley. Upon the death of Governor Parr Mr. Bulkeley administered the Government as senior member of the Council, and held a levee on 18th January, 1792, probably in that stone house at the south-east corner of Argyle and Prince Streets (afterward owned and occupied for many years by the late Hon. H. H. Cogswell, and now used as an hotel) which was built by him for his private residence. It was in this house that he held his court as Judge of the Vice-Admiralty, about which practice nine captains of the Royal Navy complained in a letter to Admiral Vandeput. This matter being officially brought to Mr. Bulkeley's notice he says "In respect to the place in which the court is held, although the house is mine, on such occasions it is made public. The room is 24 feet long by 18 feet wide, with a spacious hall; the doors always open and free access to all persons, whether they have business at the court, or come from curiosity, and every convenience afforded." The room alluded to is that in the back of the house which remains in all essentials unchanged to this day, and must have been considered at that time a most spacious chamber. It is not generally known to the present generation that Argyle Street was then a favorite site for the private residences of men of position. Directly opposite to Mr. Bulkeley's was the stone house built by Dr. W. J. Almon, at the diagonal corner was the house of Mr. Collector



Newton, a little to the north that of the Rector of St. Poul's, and to the south, at the corner of Sackville and Argyle, lived for years the Hon. R. J. Uniacke, the founder of the large and influential family of that name. Chief Justice Belcher resided in the house in Argyle Street north of the old Methodist chapel in which the Rev. William Black, the pioneer Wesleyan minister conducted divine service for so long a time. The first court house and a military guard room were also in this street, the one on the property known as Northup's corner, the other on the site occupied by the building known as "the Acadian School." Mr. Bulkeley died on 7th December, 1800, at the age of 83, beloved and respected by all classes throughout the province. He maintained a character for uprightness and ability throughout his long career, and having outlived all his contemporaries, he had for years been esteemed the father of the province. It may be added that Mr. Bulkeley was a man of literature as well as of business habits of a high order, and was at once a mathematical and classical scholar. His monument is in the form of an escutcheon which hangs in the west gallery of the church, and a rude stone marks the place of his sepulture in the old Burial Ground.

It was some little time previous that Dr. Mather Byles arrived in Halifax, and was appointed chaplain to the garrison stationed in this important rendezvous of both army and navy.

One cannot help being struck with the small increase of the population in Halifax at this time of excitement, when there was a great rush of people from the disaffected colonies. In 1780 the "notitia parochialis" of Dr. Breynton stands thus: "Inhabitants, 5000; baptisms, 190; marriages, 85; burials, 250." Many of the people must have gone at once to the fishing villages or the agricultural districts of the Province, or, perhaps, have found their way back to the old country in the ships which at that time thronged the harbor.

It was in this year that a clergyman, many of whose descendants are resident in various parts of Nova Scotia, arrived in Halifax, and took a prominent place among the leading ecclesiastics of the day. This was the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass., who was the eldest child of Col. John and Mrs. Martha Weeks, and was born in Hampton, N. H., in the first half of the eighteenth century, the exact year being unknown. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1758, and married Miss Sarah Treadwell, of Ipswich, Mass. After having discharged his duties for

a number of years in the parish assigned him, he came as a loyalist to Halifax. Mr. Bailey, in a letter written at Halifax to a friend, says: "About three weeks after my settlement at Halifax, Mr. Weeks arrived from England, which afforded a great addition to our happiness. He is appointed Missionary at Annapolis Royal with a salary of £140 per annum, but will continue at present in this metropolis." Mr. Weeks remained in Halifax for several months when he sailed for New York. In the following spring he joined his family in this town, who had arrived here in the month of November, 1789, as appears from a letter of Dr. Breynton, in which he says: "You are no stranger to the arrival of Mrs. Weeks and her eight children. Besides some donations Mrs. Weeks will be allowed about 5 shillings per diem, and Mr. Weeks will be directed to draw for the Society £70 per annum, and the other £70 will be given to (Rev.) Mr. Fisher, till the whole of that affair can be finally settled." As already stated, Mr. Weeks joined his wife and children in the spring of the year, 1780, and was appointed chaplain to a certain portion of the garrison. It was of this year that the Report of the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign parts thus speaks: "The Rev. Mr. Weeks (who has obtained several lucrative employments at Halifax) having seldom visited Annapolis since his appointment to that mission, and having at length refused to comply with the Society general rules (invariably observed by other missionaries) and their repeated particular directions to him, to reside there, as mentioned in the last year's abstract, they have at length appointed the Rev. Mr. Jacob Bailey in his room." The lucrative employment alluded to referred to his having obtained a garrison chaplaincy—of which offices there seem to have been several—in fact a chaplaincy appointed to each regiment—and his rendering some assistance in the parish of St. Paul, which had much increased during the last four or five years, as is witnessed by a letter of Dr. Breynton's, of Nov. 10, 1780: "That as Halifax is the asylum of loyal refugees, the inhabitants are greatly increased, and the public duty proportionately affected by it, so that the church is now too small to hold the congregations." At this time the Rev. Mather Byles, son of the eminent New England minister of that name, was still in Halifax, having charge of the garrison. It is probable that Dr. Byles was senior, and Mr. Weeks junior, chaplain. At this time it is to be noted that the letters and reports from Hali-

fax to the authorities make constant reference to the increase of population, and more church accommodation. The building was repaired, the grounds around it inclosed, and new pews added in the gallery, while the aisle pews in the nave were made one foot wider. In , April 1st, a resolution was passed in which the decimal currency was spoken of as though it were quite familiar to the people of Halifax. "Resolved that the Church Wardens be empowered to employ a proper person to attend the church as Beadle, and that he be allowed *one dollar* each Sunday for that service." At this time there was an unhappy state of affairs as to the finances of the church, the pew rents not being paid by some, and the officers of the church not giving a satisfactory statement of their accounts. This, however, soon was rectified, and the following spring a very good condition of affairs was shown. Certain definite proposals for doing the carpenters' and joiners' work in repairing the portico at the north end of St. Paul's Church, viz. :

"To erect four new columns and repair all the moulding ; to make and fix all the steps, risers, and to frame and lay the landing upon the same moddle as it has been formerly done ; and to be done in a workmanlike manner for the sum of fifty pounds."

I think that these columns remained until the church received an addition at the north end, in the year 1812. It has been already mentioned that the Rev. Mather Byles had arrived in Halifax, and had received an appointment. This he held until his removal to St. John, New Brunswick, where he was made Rector of Trinity Church, which at that time embraced for its parish the whole town. There was, however, during his residence in this place, Halifax, a desire to have the benefit of his services among the civilians as well as the military, but circumstances arose which prevented this desire being carried into effect. Before narrating these circumstances at length it will be better to quote one or two passages from the Report S. P. G. F. P. : "Dr. Breynton acquaints the Society that there had been a great increase of the inhabitants in Halifax, by a large influx of loyal refugees, and consequently of his duty. The inhabitants amount to 7000. He has baptized 200, besides 40 negroes ; has buried 300, occasioned by a malignant measles which proved fatal to many ; has married 79 couple, and has 105 communicants. He supposes that 30,000 loyalists are settled in Nova Scotia, which, he thinks, will open a large field for the usefully employing many missionaries,

schoolmasters, and catechists by the Society. He contributes all in his power to mitigate the hardships of these unfortunate people. Dr. Byles, he continues, still remains at Halifax, as chaplain of the garrison, awaiting an opportunity of being placed in a more eligible situation, where he may more effectually answer the purpose of the Society." The following year the report of the Society gives another summary of what Dr. Breynton had communicated to them on the state of affairs: "He (Dr. B.) mentions the rapid increase of inhabitants in Nova Scotia. That numerous settlements are daily forming, both on the coast and in the interior part of the country, which being entirely secluded from any communication with the established missionaries, may call for the further attention of the Society; and he is of opinion that two well-instituted itinerant missions might be of singular advantage. That the case of the poor negroes is truly piteous, many hundreds of which (adults and children) have been baptized, and some of them constant communicants. He has endeavored to promote obedience and industry among them by all proper accompaniments and rewards. He expresses great satisfaction in being authorized by the associates of Dr. Bray to establish a negro school." I may add that the school was established, a building having been purchased in Albemarle Street, in which part of the town the negroes had, for the most part, their abode, and where, indeed, they continued as a little colony until about fifty years ago, when they migrated gradually to the northern part of the city and its outskirts. The school for a long period did good service. Mr. Charles Inglis, son of the late Lord Bishop of that name, having taken a deep interest in the welfare of these unfortunate people, and Mr. Daniel Gallagher having for a long period held the position of schoolmaster. The building is still the property of the Bray Associates, held in trust for them by the present Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, who, since the introduction of the new school Act, has generously permitted the building to be used both on week days and Sundays for educational purposes.

A change now came over the parish of St. Paul, in that one of the chief actors in it and in all the affairs of community, civil and ecclesiastical, retired from the scene. The man who had been for so long a period the chief ecclesiastical ruler in the community, and the colleague of all in authority; who had been the associate and companion of Lawrence, Belcher, Wilmot, Franklin, Lord William

Campbell, Hammond and Parr; who had witnessed the magnificent fleets that rode at anchor in our peerless harbor awaiting the order to attack the stronghold of Louisburg; who had conversed with Lords Howe and London ere they set sail with Admiral Holborne to meet the sad disaster which compelled their return to England; who, in the succeeding summer, welcomed to these shores the distinguished general, Lord Amherst, the honored sailor Admiral Boscawen, the skilful, gentle yet dauntless soldier, the young and loyal Wolfe; who had passed through all the trying scenes of the infant colony, was about to retire for a time from the active and onerous duties which fell to his lot, and seek repose among his relations in the old country. At a meeting of the corporation of the church held on July 18th, 1815, it is recorded along with other business transacted "The Reverend Doctor having obtained leave of absence, and being on his departure for England for a short space of time proposed leaving the church in the charge of the Reverend Mr. Weeks during his absence. To which the vestry unanimously agreed." Very soon after this the venerable man embarked for his father land and took leave of his old field of labor that he might enjoy a respite for a time; but he was destined never to return—circumstances detained him for so lengthened a period that he, doubtless, felt to old too again assume the growing responsibilities of his post, and he resigned his honored and honorable position in 1790. There will be occasion to refer briefly and incidentally now and again to him in what follows; but before I part with the more consecutive relation of his career, I desire put on record an incident which illustrates the christian liberality of his religious views and the real kindness of his heart. I have, in my first paper, given an account of the noble spirit in which he met young father Baillie, the Roman Catholic priest, who, by an agreement with the Government in those vexed, troublous days, was sent down from Quebec to minister to the Indians and French who desired his spiritual oversight and attention—the cordial welcome which he gave him, the kindly words which he spake of him. The very year he left the country another opportunity was afforded him of showing how he could feel and act towards those who differed widely from him in theological views. That for which he looked seems to have been the love for God and man, rather than dogmatic opinions in the School of Divinity. As he received and encouraged years before the youthful priest, so now

he received and cheered an earnest, enthusiastic man who had joined the religious movement which had sprung up under the fervid teaching of John Wesley. The name of this pious Methodist was Garretson, and the incident I refer to was thus narrated in a very valuable and interesting book, lately published by the author, entitled "History of Methodist Church; including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Bermuda," "by T. Watson Smith of the Nova Scotia Conference." "Freeborn Garretson" belonged to a family in Maryland. His parents were members of the Episcopal church. In 1785 he sailed from New York, bound on a mission for the glory of God as manifested to the Methodists. He sailed for Halifax which he reached after a long, wretched voyage, and a "dismal time." He, along with his companion Cornwell, received a warm welcome from Marchington and the few Methodists of the city.

"Soon after his arrival he called on Dr. Breynton, the Rector of St. Paul's, who received him in a spirit which did the aged clergyman high honor. 'You are on a blessed errand' he said to his visitor, 'I will do what I can in assisting you. I desire to see the Gospel spread.' Not less kindly was his reception by Governor Parr, on whom, accompanied by Marchington, he called the following day. The Governor spoke in commendation of Wesley; assured Garretson of his approbation of the purpose which had led him to the Province; and added 'Whenever you call for my assistance, if I can help you I will.'

Dr. Breynton must have sailed from Halifax sometime previous to the month of September, 1785, for at a meeting of the vestry, held on the 13th of that month, the Rev. Mr. Weeks presided, and the following notice was made in the minute book: "The vestry having taken into consideration a letter wrote by the Reverend Doctor Breynton, of the 25th of July last, to the Reverend Mr. Dela Roche of Lunenburg, requesting him, if convenient, to come to Halifax, for a month or any longer time, to assist the Rev. Mr. Weeks, who was left in charge of the church and parish. Mr. Weeks being called upon, and acquainting the vestry, that he found his health sufficient to continue the duty of the church and parish without any assistance. The vestry are unanimously of opinion, that the Reverend Mr. Weeks has conducted himself with great propriety, and hitherto done the duty, both of the church and parish to general acceptance. And, therefore that no assistance is necessary at present."

A curious resolution occurs in the record of the next meeting, inasmuch as it indicated that the authority of the laws of the church were ridden over by the people who assumed, the moment the old Doctor had turned his back on them, that they might direct the manner in which the liturgy should be used. About as palpable an usurpation of authority as well could be in the established Church of England and Ireland. It was thus; "voted, that for the winter half year, Divine service in the afternoon shall begin at half after one o'clock, and that the minister shall have it at his discretion to omit a part or the whole of the service in the afternoon, when the severity of the weather may render it necessary; of which he is to give notice in the time of morning service."

In the year 1786 a great amount of interest was manifested by the parishioners of the parish church, and a large amount of money expended on the building, among other items one hundred pounds being expended upon the painting of the exterior—the interior being somewhat altered, and the Governor's pew being "ornamented with a canopy and king's arms," and here it will not be amiss to make a brief statement relative to the coat of arms which at present is attached to the northern gallery of St. Paul's, and which is unquestionably not a copy of that coat of arms alluded to. The royal proclamation of 1801 ordered that the arms of The United Kingdom should be: quarterly 1st and 4th, England; 2nd, Scotland; 3rd, Ireland; over which an escutcheon of pretence, the arms of the king's dominion in Germany (viz. Hanover) ensigned with the electoral coronet. In 1816 the electorate of Hanover was elevated to the rank of a kingdom, and consequently the Hanoverian real crown was substituted for the electoral coronet. On the ascension of her present majesty, the kingdom of Hanover passed from the sovereign of this country, and therefore the Hanoverian escutcheon of pretence ceased to form part of the royal arms. The present coat of arms was placed in the church probably by the late Hon. H. N. Binney.

In the year next succeeding the first bishop ever appointed to a British Colony—Rt. Rev. Charles Inglis, D. D.—arrived in Halifax to take possession of his see. From a public point of view this was a most interesting historical fact, and Dr. Inglis was an interesting man. His history is worthy of being known for his own sake, and from the fact that his grandson, Sir John Inglis, the

gallant and renowned defender of Lucknow, whose portrait rightly hangs in and adorns that most classically proportioned apartment—the Legislative Council Chamber—the most chaste and beautiful chamber in the Dominion of Canada, has left behind him the memory of one of the most gallant soldiers that ever wore the British uniform, and one of the ablest and most graphic despatches ever written by a British General. It may be briefly stated that Charles Inglis was Rector of Trinity Church, New York, and that being a strong loyalist he refused to omit the prayers in the Church of England liturgy for the king and royal family, even when remonstrated with by General Washington, and after fair warning, actually did so in the presence of one hundred and fifty armed men who entered his church with bayonets fixed, drums beating, and pipes playing. This brave man altered not one word and whether with orders or not with orders, the soldiers fired not one shot. It certainly was an incident to which the old Roman proverb was literally applicable—*arma cedunt togæ*. This distinguished man was appointed to the newly formed see of Nova Scotia, which, at that time, embraced the whole of the Maritime Provinces and Canada as then known, arriving here on Tuesday, 16th October.

Mr. Weeks was still in charge of the parish, and in the month of January, the year following, we find at a meeting of the parishioners presided over by George Pyke, Esq., the subjoined minute :

“The leave of absence obtained by the Reverend Doctor Breynton having expired last Michaelmas—therefore, voted, that Doctor Breynton have a further leave of absence till the 30th day of June next; at which time the parish will consider the Rectory vacant in case he does not appear to officiate personally, and the churchwardens are requested to write to Doctor Breynton on this subject, and at the same time to send him a copy of this vote.” Another resolution was passed the same day “that a voluntary collection be made every Sunday morning; that Mr. Weeks be requested to give notice of the same.”

Dr. Breynton not having returned to Halifax by the autumn, a meeting was held (of the warden and vestry) when the subject of his prolonged absence was taken up and discussed in a most kindly spirit, and a long letter written expressive of their wishes, relative to the appointment of a new rector, and the discharge of the duties of the parish in the interval. It was decided to ask Dr. Byles to



share with Mr. Weeks the work involved under the direction of the Bishop, giving, however, to Mr. Weeks the parsonage house rent free, thus placing him in a more advantageous position than that assigned to Dr. Byles. In accordance with these views of the executive of the corporation, the parishioners assembled, wrote and sent the following letter which is worthy of preservation as a proof of the spirit which animated the life long friends of the old Doctor :

HALIFAX, Nov. 11, 1788.

REVEREND SIR,—At a very full meeting of the parishioners of St. Paul's, on the 30th day of last January, your absence was taken into consideration, and as a testimony of their attention and respect, it was extended to the 30th of June, of which the then wardens were desired to give you the earliest notice. The copy of their letter has been laid before us, and we have to lament that no answer has been received from you.

At a meeting of the wardens and vestry upon the 27th ult., the inconvenience of your long absence was the subject of serious consideration, and as a further proof of the high estimation in which your long and faithful services are held, it was unanimously agreed to extend your leave till mechaelmas last, with a resolution to liquidate and adjust your account with your agent, Mr. Dight, to that period.

The improbability of your ever returning to this country to reassume the duties of your function, was heard with concern from the communication received by your letters upon that subject to several of your friends, and which strongly pointed out the necessity of taking such steps as appeared to have a probable tendency to unite the parishioners. The measures taken for this purpose were the result of mature deliberation, a copy of which we now enclose for your information.

Be assured, Sir, that no other motive but the best interests of the church has influenced our conduct upon this occasion ; and could there have been hope of seeing you again in Halifax, your leave of absence would have been enlarged ; but, as that did not appear probable, it was impossible any longer to delay the steps now taken.

Upon hearing from you application will be made by us thro the Bishop of Nova Scotia, to the Archbishop of Canterbury for a suitable person to succeed you as Rector of this Parish, of which you shall have timely notice, from a conviction that you will unite your friendly offices in this important business.

We are, with great respect and esteem,

Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed by the church wardens and vestry.)

This letter was sent, but in the time which elapsed between its departure and answer sent, difficulties arose regarding the parochial

work. Dr. Byles, who was a high spirited man, thought that he was not fairly treated in the proposed arrangement between himself and Mr. Weeks, and he formally and emphatically declined accepting the terms of the proposition.

This positive attitude of the learned Doctor brought matters to, if possible, a more decided crisis, and the parishioners wrote another letter (Nov. 15th, 1788) to Doctor Breynton urging him to select and recommend some clergyman to the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom they would gladly receive, saying that if he did so, he would secure "their lasting esteem and respect." At the same time the parishioners made known to the bishop all their affairs, requesting his good offices in their dilemma. The bishop responded heartily and in a long letter makes use of the following expressions: "Agreeably to your request I have stated to His Grace of Canterbury, and to Doctor Breynton, the particulars which you mentioned; and I flatter myself that in the course of the ensuing spring or summer, your wishes will be accomplished. I am much pleased with the delicacy and kindness shewed to Doctor Breynton throughout this whole business. It is reputable to both parties. Such generous candid treatment of your clergy, will always ensure their attachment and zealous exertions, and will also animate them in the discharge of their duty."

The successorship was a long, anxious and wearisome business. On the 10th August, 1789, a letter from Dr. Breynton, dated "London, 2nd May, 1789," was read.

LONDON, 2nd June, 1791,

63 Edgeware Road.

MY GOOD OLD FRIEND,—Mr. Stanser left London yesterday in such haste that I had not time to write to many of my friends, I shall send this to Portsmouth in hopes that it will find him there before the sailing of the Sphenix. I was always of opinion that the people had the right of presentation, and my conference with the Attorney-General decided the matter. Mr. Stanser, therefore, is only a candidate for the rectory, and as his character in learning, morals and abilities has been thoroughly investigated, I hope you will (as usual formerly) promote peace and unanimity, and use all your influence in establishing him as Rector. What I have said to you I say to your good brother John (sic) Binney.

Was I not fully persuaded that Mr. Stanser possessed a truly christian spirit as well as the other qualifications of a minister of the Gospel, I should not on

any consideration presume to recommend him as your rector, for believe me that I shall ever entertain the highest regard for the welfare, eternal and temporal, of the good people of Halifax, and am particularly,

Dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend and most

Obedient humble servant,

JNO. BREYNTON,

To MR. PETERS, Vestry Clerk, Halifax.

Mr. Byles having left Halifax to enter upon his duties at St. John, to the parish of which he had been appointed, Mr. Weeks, with the afterward expressed approval of the vestry, requested Rev. Mr. Wright, a well known man in olden times—being head master of the grammar school, and, as such, teacher of some of our most prominent public men—to assist him, and thus the parochial affairs were in the hands of these two gentlemen until Sept., 1791, when a communication was received from His Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, stating that His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury had recommended the Reverend Mr. Stanser to the rectory of the parish. At the same time the Hon. Henry Newton, who was in the chair, informed the parish that he had received a letter from the Reverend Dr. Breynton, in favor of Mr. Stanser, which was then read, and with this last act of the brave old pioneer of church work in our city, we will bid him farewell, and also close this paper :

SIR,—I have regularly received the proceedings of the Vestry on Parish affairs. In answer to which I beg leave to assure the Vestry and Parshioners that their ample testimony of my conduct in my pastoral office gives me the greatest consolation, and that whatever be my situation I shall always retain a grateful sense of their kindness and esteem.

The relation in which I have now served them ceases, but the affection will ever remain, and I shall never cease to pray that they and their children may prosper in their temporal and eternal concerns.

I shall take great pleasure in meeting their wishes in respect to their future Pastor, and no efforts on my part shall be wanting to fulfil that desirable event to their satisfaction.

In regard to arrears, Mr. Dight is fully authorized to liquidate and settle them in such as shall be most easy and equitable.

I am, Sir,

Your sincere friend and most

Affectionate humble servant,

JNO. BREYNTON.

To MR. PETERS, Vestry Clerk, Halifax.

## No. III.

Upon the receipt of the letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Breynton, already referred to, and upon their being read at a meeting of the parishioners on Sept. 5th, 1791,

On motion it was voted and resolved,

That the Reverend Mr. Stanser be presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, praying that he will be pleased to issue the necessary orders for his induction to the Rectory of this parish. On motion, voted that the churchwardens and vestry acquaint the Revd. Mr. Stanser that the parish have this day agreed to present him to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor for induction, and that a vote has accordingly passed for that purpose.

On motion, voted, that the churchwardens and vestry acquaint the Reverend Mr. Weeks with these proceedings, and to assure him in the name of the parish of their warmest affections and thankfulness for his past services as the officiating minister during the absence of Dr. Breynton, and that they consider themselves bound by the strongest ties to further his views and wishes for a suitable and proper settlement as a faithful minister of the Gospel.

The same committee will likewise inform the Revd. Mr. Wright of these proceedings, and assure him that the parish have a proper sense of his zeal and attention in the assistance he has given by officiating occasionally in St. Paul's since last Michaelmas.

It has been already stated that in the autumn of this year Governor Parr died, and was buried in a vault beneath St. Paul's church. Beyond the public ceremonial on that occasion nothing of extraordinary interest took place in connection with the church. Mr. Stanser was temporarily settled in a house provided for him by the parish authorities, as the Revd. Mr. Weeks was occupying the rectory, which he continued to do until the month of May, 1792. It appears from extant documents that in those early days every man in the town of a certain age, no matter what his creed might be, was assessed a certain sum proportionate to his supposed circumstances, for the support of the Church of England, which was, by law, the Established Church of the Colony. This fact accounts for, what seems to us of the present day, the unjust action of the Corporation

of St. Paul's as shown by the subjoined record in the minute book :  
" The vestry clerk is directed to procure a list of the respective con-  
gregations of the town, to enable the vestry to make an assessment  
for the current year." No doubt, it seemed to the Imperial Govern-  
ment to be a wise policy to perpetuate in the infant colonies an  
intimate union between Church and State; nor is it in a mere  
historic record, such as this Society sanctions, my province to enter  
upon a disquisition of the merits and demerits, or the right and wrong  
of such a course, but I may be permitted to say that this very  
position legally bestowed did more to injure the interests of the  
Church of England than any one unacquainted with its constitution  
and its relations can conceive, and I look back with what I think  
may be termed pardonable pride upon the fact that one of my first  
acts upon entering my duties in life was to lend all the power in my  
aid to the abolition of an act which was as unfair to others as it was  
injurious to ourselves. Thirty years ago we had the satisfaction of  
seeing the old and obnoxious system broken up, and our church left  
to stand or fall upon its own merits.

To resort to the current of events, it may be stated that soon after  
the death of Governor Parr—his successor was appointed—John  
Wentworth, Esq. On Saturday, 12th May, 1792, he arrived at  
Halifax in H. M. frigate *Hussar*, Rupert George, Esq., commander,  
in five weeks voyage from Falmouth. He disembarked on the fol-  
lowing Sunday at 1 p. m., under a salute of fifteen guns, and was  
received in great state by all the functionaries, receiving addresses  
from the magistrates and citizens and from the bishop and his clergy.

We must here notice a little more fully this governor, who held  
the office for a longer period than any of his predecessors or succes-  
sors, and who was most justly esteemed for the ability with which he  
discharged his duties. He was the son of Mark Hunting Wentworth,  
and grandson of Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth, of New Hamp-  
shire, and himself the last royal governor of that colony and Surveyor  
General of the king's woods in North America. He was born in 1736,  
and graduated at Harvard University in 1755. As governor he was  
very popular with his people, until he endeavoured to render aid to  
General Gage, which loyal action eventuated in his being compelled  
to abandon his post. "He was," says Lorenzo Sabine, "an excellent  
public man in almost every particular. In business few surpassed  
him in promptness, intelligence and efficiency. His talents were of a

high order, his judgment was sound, and his views were broad and liberal. The Universities of Oxford and Aberdeen too, generally unmindful of the merits of colonists—conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was the friend of learning, and gave to Dartmouth College its charter rights. He did much to encourage agriculture, and promote the settlement of New Hampshire; and labored zealously to increase its worth and importance as one of the thirteen British Provinces. When the Revolutionary troubles began, his efforts to prevent a rupture were unwearied. He could not resist the great movements which released America from the bondage of the colonial system; but he did retire from his official trusts, with a character unimpeached, and with the respect of his political opponent.” “In my judgment,” continues this writer, “not one of the public men of the time who hung to the royal cause will go down to posterity with a more enviable fame.” We learn that when Governor of New Hampshire his habits were expensive. He was, in those days, very fond of horses, and paid a good deal of attention to them. Whether he retained his liking for them when he came to preside over the councils of this Province, it is now too late to learn; but one would judge from the scattered notices in the newspapers, that he was more than usually lavish in his entertainments, sparing no pains nor expense in making them pleasant and attractive. In 1795 he was created a Baronet, and continued his administration of the government with marked success until 1808, when he retired from office with a pension of £1,000, sterling, one half being paid by the Provincial Government, the other half by the Imperial. Governor Wentworth owned a lot of land, consisting of several hundred acres, on the west shore of Bedford Basin, between six and seven miles from Halifax, on which he erected a cottage calling it “Friar Lawrence’s Cell,” a building which afterwards the Duke of Kent enlarged, improved and resided in—giving it the name of the Lodge. The land continued to be the property of Sir John, and after the Duke left this province, he again took up his abode there. After his resignation of the governorship, Sir John lived for twelve years, and during that period he moved into town and took up his residence in Hollis Street, where he died on the evening of Saturday, the 8th April, 1820. A marble tablet, briefly mentioning his services in the province (in excellent preservation) is on the wall of the chancel of St. Paul’s, and below the

inscription is his coat of arms, with the family motto in accordance with the spirit of which he so fully acted, "Secundis, dubiisque rectus."

In this year, 1792, the attention of the parishioners was called to the ruinous condition of the parsonage, and arrangements made for leasing it, while a vote of £40, of Nova Scotia currency, was made to Mr. Stanser in lieu of it.

At this time there was a large increase of inhabitants, as is manifest from the long list of freeholders, and from the fact that the following resolution was passed at a meeting of parishioners held in June 26, 1792 :

"Mr. Clarke acquainted the parish that a number of respectable inhabitants had applied for seats in the church, who were now in a manner shut out, for want of accommodation, and as it had been suggested that an alteration in the pews of the middle aisles might be made, so as to accommodate about fifteen families more, without any great inconvenience to the present holders of those pews, he requested, therefore, that they would take under their serious consideration, whether it might not be advisable for the benefit of the parish in general, that such an alteration should take place."

At a subsequent meeting the decision was arrived at that the proposition should be carried into effect, but from what occurred later on, the good idea was never realized—for there was evidently a strong objection on the part of some who thought that their vested rights would be interfered with, and that their wide and roomy pews would be so curtailed as to interfere with their comfort. Later on in the autumn a series of stormy meetings took place in regard to a legacy left by one Mr. Rock to the poor of the parish. The executor, Mr. Thos. Cochran, was dilatory in settling the estate of the old gentleman, and they entered upon an action in law against him, the result of which was that the legacy—which was a very valuable one—was obtained. In the Report of the S. P. S., of the year following Mr. Stanser's arrival, we find the following record :

"The Revd. Mr. Stanser, who succeeded the Rev. Dr. Breynton, the Society's old and most respectable missionary at Halifax, has acquainted the Society of his having been instituted into that parish by the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and legally inducted by the churchwardens, and that he had received every mark of attention, which he could expect or desire."

Early in the following year, 1793, the rector informed the parish of the death of Mr. Daniel McGrath, the late clerk of the church, and that he had appointed Mr. James Collupy to supply his place. It may be here observed that Mr. Collupy was a well known man in Halifax for many years, and is still remembered by the outgoing generation.

In this year the following document was issued relative to the old burying ground in that part of the town which is now called Pleasant Street. It is worth preserving as a memorial of the past disposition of the property now so sacred as the resting place of hundreds of our early settlers:—

“NOVA SCOTIA.”

GEORGE THE THIRD, *by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.*

TO ALL WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME GREETING—

Know ye that we of our special grace certain knowledge and mere motion, have given, granted and confirmed, and do by the presents give, grant and confirm unto the Church-wardens and Vestry of the Church of Saint Paul, in Halifax, in the Province of Nova Scotia, for the time being, and to their successors in the said office, for the use of the said Parish Church, all that certain lot of land situate, lying and being in the south suburbs of the town of Halifax aforesaid, commonly called and known by the name of the Old Burying Ground, containing two acres and one-quarter of an acre and five rods. Also, all that certain other lot of land situate, lying and being in the same south suburb of the said town of Halifax, adjoining the jailyard, and commonly called and known by the name of the New Burying Ground, containing one acre and twenty-seven rods and a half, to be used as Burying Grounds for the Parish Church, in the manner heretofore accustomed, according to the place thereof hereto annexed: with all and all manner of mines unopened, excepting mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, and coals, to have and to hold the said granted premises, with all privileges, profits, and commodities and appurtenances thereunto belonging, unto the said Church-wardens and Vestry of the said Parish Church of Saint Paul, for the time being, and their successors in said offices, to and for the use of the said Parish Church as Burying Grounds, as heretofore accustomed. They, the said Church-Wardens and Vestry, for the time being and their successors in the said offices, in behalf of the said Parish Church, yielding and praying, which by the acceptation hereof, they bind and oblige the said Parish Church, heirs, executors, and assigns to pay to His Majesty, his heirs and successors, or to any person lawfully authorized to receive the same, a free yearly quit rent after the rate of one farthing per acre, the first payment of the quit rent to commence and become payable at the expiration of ten years from the date hereof, and so to



continue payable yearly thereafter for ever; in default thereof this grant to be null and void. Provided, also, that this grant shall have been registered at the Registrar's Office, and a docket thereof entered at the Auditor's Office within six months from the date hereof, otherwise this grant shall become null and void.

Given under the great seal of our Province of Nova Scotia, witness our trusty and well-beloved John Wentworth, L.L.D., our Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over the said Province, this seventeenth day of June, in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, and in the Thirty-third year of our reign.

(Signed.)

WENTWORTH.

Nova Scotia, Halifax, registered 17th June, 1793,

J. M. FREKE BULKELEY.

Signed in Council,

J. M. FREKE BULKELEY.

By command of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor,

J. M. FREKE BULKELEY.

Nova Scotia, Halifax, audited 17th June, 1793,

JAS. GAUTIER.

The foregoing is a true copy taken from the original grant, by me,

JOHN SELBY, *Vestry Clerk*.

It was found necessary in this year to increase the revenue of the parish, and this was done by adding to the pew rents fifteen shillings per annum on some pews, and ten shillings per annum on others, and at the same meeting at which this decision was arrived at, it was voted unanimously

“That the thanks of the parish be given unto the Hon. Alexander Brymer and Gregory Townsend, Esq., for their zeal to promote the welfare and great attention to the concerns of the parish during their church-wardenship, and to request that they will oblige the parish by continuing ‘another year in said offices.’”

The following letter is of some interest :—

MONDAY, June 23, 1794.

Sir,—

On Saturday last, I had the honour of receiving from three worthy members of Assembly, a copy of a resolve, purporting that it was the wish of the House to attend Divine service on Wednesday next, at 11 o'clock, and they requested I would direct Divine service to be performed and a sermon to be preached in St. Paul's Church on that day.

Ever ready and desirous to testify my unfeigned respect for the House of Assembly, and to meet their wishes, (of which I beg that you, sir, will have the

goodness to assure the House,) I have given directions for Divine service and a sermon at St. Paul's Church on Wednesday next, were it in my power I, myself, would gladly preach on the occasion ; but the business of my visitation, which is not finished, renders it impracticable ; my place will be supplied by the Rev. Mr. Money who will, I flatter myself, as far as the shortness of notice admits, give satisfaction.

I cannot forbear observing, what the occasion suggests, that the above resolve does much credit to the House and particularly to the worthy and respectable mover of it ; as it shews a proper regard to religion in this time of great apostasy and danger. There never was perhaps a period when it was more necessary for all who profess christianity, to stand forth and to implore His protection against the dreadful evils which a spirit of irreligion and misrule is spreading through the world. Never was that inspired declaration brought more powerfully to the conviction and feelings of mankind—"Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain,"—which conveys this most interesting truth—that unless the Almighty extends His protection to a city or community, the efforts of its guardians will be fruitless ; the politician will plan, the legislature will enact laws, the magistrate will rule, and the soldier fight in vain for its preservation.

A levelling, atheistic system has at this day torn asunder all the bonds of society, in a populous and powerful kingdom ; has destroyed all order and religion, all security for life and property, and riots in the most wanton excesses of oppression, cruelty and bloodshed. It has been the cause of involving us in war ; and threatens us and all mankind with the same ruin that it has brought on the unfortunate country which gave it birth.

Against this horrid system, it behoves all to guard with vigilance ; all especially who are in authority and who cannot more effectually discharge their trust, and consult the welfare of society and of those committed to their care, than by promoting, both by their example and authority a proper sense of religion and order. This is their indispensable duty ; for without the protection of Almighty God, the wisdom and power of man are but feeble defeuces.

I have the honour to be, with truest esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient and

Faithful humble servant,

CHARLES, NOVA SCOTIA.

In the month of September, 1794, the rector, the Reverend Mr. Stanser, acquainted the parish "that being under the necessity of going to England this winter to settle some Private Concerns, he requested leave of absence for four or five months ; and that he proposed (should it be agreeable) leaving the charge of the church to the Rev. Mr. Wright during his absence. To all which the parishioners agreed."

By the following April the rector had returned, for we find him presiding at a meeting of the vestry early in that month.

In the month of June a rather remarkable arrangement was made with His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, who had assumed the reins of military command in this Province. The cool manner in which a certain portion of the square originally assigned to the parish of St. Paul was handed over to the Prince evinces on the part of our predecessors, a singular want of judgment to say the least of it. It may be, indeed, that they were actuated by the belief that they were getting an equivalent in return, and thinking that the land was of not much value were willing to part with the unoccupied portion of their lot for the sake of obtaining a railing without expense to the parishioners. Whatever were their motives the deed was done, as we learn from the following parish record of June 8, 1796 :

“ Mr. Townsend (church-warden) acquainted the Vestry that His Royal Highness, General Prince Edward, was levelling off the Parade and railing it in, and having understood that if a proper application was made, His Royal Highness might be induced to rail in the Church likewise, and make such improvements as would tend greatly to the advantage and splendor of the same.” They, therefore, were called together to consider upon what steps should be taken in order to have so desirable an object accomplished—

Whereupon, after some consideration, it was agreed that His Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, should be waited upon by the rector (Mr. Stanser having offered his service for said purpose), and acquainted that the Vestry most humbly request His Excellency will make known to His Royal Highness their hearty concurrence and wishes that he will fulfil His Royal intention to rail the Church in allotting off 20 yards on the north side, and to the boundaries of the street on the east and west side for the convenience of a passageway to and from said church.”

A mere railing round the edifice was a pretty price to take for that large space between St. Paul's and the present south end of the Parade. But the bargain was struck, and about half was taken for a street, and the other half added, along with George Street, to the Parade. No legal documents appear to have been drawn, but the whole transaction conducted in a manner as loose as it was unjustifiable.

During the six months ensuing 29th Sept., 1796, the evening services were held at half-past two o'clock.

The Bishop of Nova Scotia, whose chief residence was in Halifax, of course, attended St. Paul's Church, but it is manifest that he did so as a parishioner, and not as entitled by virtue of his office to any rights therein. The parishioners were, as they have ever since been, extremely tenacious of their rights as given to them by the special Act constituting the parish of St. Paul. The relative position of the Bishop towards the Church is manifest, from the fact that he was assessed as any other parishioner, as also from the fact that he was not allowed to take possession of a pew except by regular process of law, as the following letter testifies :

VESTRY ROOM, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,  
HALIFAX, 29th May, 1797.

THE RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES, BISHOP OF NOVA SCOTIA, AT AYLESFORD,  
NOVA SCOTIA,

*Right Reverend Sir,*—

It having been communicated to the Wardens and Vestry that the pew standing in your name in the church was not actually in your possession, but in that of B. Wentworth, Esq., and Mr. Wentworth having attended in the vestry room, confirmed such information, and that he actually paid the rent for it, it was therefore ordered that I should state the same to you, and that the Wardens and Vestry are of opinion that said pew has reverted to the church, and will be proceeded with agreeable to the terms of the endowment.

I have the honor to be,

Right Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

(Signed.)

JOHN SELBY,

*Clerk of Vestry.*

As the corporation of St. Paul's based their action from the beginning of their existance on the deed of endowment, drawn in 1760, it will not be without interest to reproduce this ancient ecclesiastical document.

“Know all men by these presents, that whereas His Majesty has been graciously pleased to allot a quantity of ground for the scite of a church on the parade in the Town of Halifax, in the Province of Nova Scotia, containing by estimation, five hundred and sixty-six square yards or thereabouts, and to cause a church to be erected thereon at the expense of the Crown by grants from His Majesty for that purpose, and also by moneys granted to His Majesty in this province for the uses of the government. And whereas, His Majesty has been also pleased to grant lands in glebe for the endowment of said church, and the support of the incumbents of the same, and as rector and vicar having been inducted into said church by virtue of His Majesty's royal instructions, and the said glebe lands being insufficient for the support and maintenance of said in-

cumbents according to the intentions of the royal founder of said church, and the said church having become a royal foundation and of exempt jurisdiction and the right of further endowing, the said church being vested in His Majesty or the governor of this province as his representative, and the power and allotting and disposing of the pews or seats in the said church, of right, belonging to His Majesty's governor of this province, Now, I, Charles Lawrence, Governor, therefore, by these presents, give and grant to and for the use of John Breynton and Thomas Wood the present incumbents of the said church and their successors, unto Richard Bulkeley and William Nesbitt, Church-wardens of said parish, the trust whereof they hereby acknowledge, and in testimony of their consent have signed these presents all such right and power as accrues to the royal founder of said church, of granting the seats or pews of the said church at a yearly rent for one or more years or for life, and the rents of the said pews arising from the same, and all fines or emoluments, the said church-wardens and all such church-wardens as shall be hereafter chosen for said parish shall, from time to time, apply in the manner following, that is to say: Nine-tenth parts of the said rents, fines or emoluments shall be and are hereby allocated to and for the benefit of said ministers and their successors in such parish in and by way of augmentation of their benefice in said church, the same to be paid half yearly at Easter and Michaelmas, and the other remaining tenth part to be applied by the church-wardens of said parish for the necessary repairs of said church. And the said John Breynton and Thomas Wood, the present incumbents of said church, who, by virtue of this induction, are seized of the freehold of said church, do also hereby accept of the said allocation and signify their consent by signing these presents to all and to every contract and contracts for the said seats or pews for the purpose herein mentioned, and I do hereby ratify and confirm all conveyances, rights and titles to all and every person or persons to be made or granted by the present or any future church-wardens of the pews or seats in said church at a yearly rent, as aforesaid, and upon the express trusts to and for the incumbents of said church and the repairs of the same in manner as herein before directed.

Given under my hand and seal, at Halifax, this fourth day of January, in the thirty-third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, George the Secodd, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty.

CHAS. LAWRENCE.

By His Excellency's command,

JOHN BREYNTON, *Rector.*

THOMAS WOOD, *Vicar.*

WM. NESBITT,        } *Church-Wardens.*  
 RICHD. BUCKELEY, }

RICHARD BULKELEY, *Secretary.*

Entered in the Register's office in the Book of Records, Lib. 10 to 81, Halifax, September 23, 1761. Registered by me.

JOHN SOLOMON, *Dep'y Reg'r.*

A true copy of the Deed of Endowment of St. Paul's Church at Halifax, bearing date the fourth of January, 1760, taken from the original grant this 27th day of September, 1771.

JOHN PHILIPPS,  
MATT. McNEMERA,

*Church-Wardens.*

The Report S. P. G. for 1796 briefly states "The Rev. Mr. Stanser, Missionary at Halifax, continues his usual diligence in the discharge of a very laborious duty. In the last half year he baptised 30 infants and one adult; married 27 couple; and buried 52 corpses; not including the garrison. The Communicants are numerous and increasing."

Sometime during the year 1797, two clergymen arrived in Halifax from the old country, both of whom lived to old age; one was Mr. Norris, well known for a long period of time in King's County, the other, Mr. King, who, for many years, was the rector of Christ Church, Windsor, Hants County. "Mr. Norris reached Halifax after a passage of only twenty-four days from Torbay; Mr. King was tossed upon the ocean for nine weeks and three days before he had the happiness of setting foot on the same ground."

"Mr. King, after resting himself a few days in the hospitable mansion of Mr. Stanser, at Halifax, took a journey of ninety miles to Aylesford, to pay his respects to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, to exhibit his credentials from the society and to receive the bishop's advice and directions."

In the same year we find the two following resolutions, which speak volumes for the industry and the honesty of the wardens and the vestry.

Resolved unanimously: "That the thanks of this parish be given to the Honorable Alexander Brymer and Gregory Townsend, Esq., for the essential services they have rendered the parish, by a zealous and faithful attention to its interests, as church-wardens for the past five years, in which period they have, by a prudent and judicious arrangement of the funds of St. Paul's Church, discharged a heavy debt with which it was encumbered previous to their coming into office, and that the Rev. Mr. Stanser, Foster Hutchinson, junr., and James Clarke, Esquires, be a committee to wait on them with a copy of this resolve."

Voted, "That the additional rent which was laid upon the pews

by a vote of this parish, dated 30th September, 1793, be taken off, as the purpose for which that vote was passed, to wit, paying off the parish debts, is now fully accomplished."

In April, 1798, it was voted at the parish meeting "that the church-wardens be empowered to purchase a new set of curtains for the window at the east end of the church, and also a new lining and canopy for the church-warden's pew."

In England the account of St. Paul's for this year, runs thus: "The Society have received two letters from the Rev. Mr. Stanser, Missionary at Halifax, by which they are informed that on Easter Sunday last there was a greater number of communicants than the Rev. Mr. Wright, his assistant, had seen in any part of America, though he officiated for a long time at New York. In the course of the year he had baptized 133 infants; married 64, and buried 93. He relates with concern, that on the 25th of September last the cupola and eastern side of St. Paul's Church received great damage by a most dreadful hurricane, the necessary repair of which will be attended with considerable expense. He acknowledges the receipt of a parcel for Mr. Weeks, and a box of books for Mr. Rowland, which the Society sent out. As the laborious duty of a very large large parish renders it absolutely necessary for Mr. Stanser to have an assistant, and as all the articles of living have been enormously increased in the town of Halifax, by reason of the war, which is particularly distressing to those who have large families and limited incomes, the Society have judged it proper to advance Mr. Stanser's salary to £70 a year, as a mark of their approbation of his diligent conduct in the duties of his mission, to which they were the more inclined from the Bishop of Nova Scotia having recommended it."

At the close of this year we find that one of the wardens, of whom the parishioners had spoken in such high terms of commendation, had passed away—Mr. Gregory Townsend—and that Mr. Andrew Belcher, a man of great note in the colony, and father of the Arctic Navigator, Sir Edward Belcher, was unanimously chosen church-warden "until Michaelmas next, in the room of the late Gregory Townsend, deceased."

In connection with the death of this zealous and efficient officer of the church may be noted the fact that the father of the late James G. A. Creighton, senior member of the firm "Creighton & Grassie," became purchaser of the pew held by him; for we learn from the

minutes of Dec. 19, 1798, that "agreeable to public notice given last Sunday, the wardens proceeded to the sale of the good will of pew No. 6, east side aisle (become vacant by the death of Gregory Townsend, Esq.,) when Mr. James Creighton, jr., purchased the same for the sum of thirty-eight pounds

The conditions of sale were, that he and his family shall have the exclusive occupation of the pew so long as he or they pay the rent thereof regularly, but in failure of payment for rent for one year it would then revert to the Church. That pew is still occupied by a descendant of Mr. Creighton's.

On the 15th April, 1799, we have the following minute: "At a special meeting of the church-wardens, vestry and parishioners of St. Paul's this day, the Reverend Robert Stanser requested leave of absence for six months to go to England on his private affairs, and recommended to the parish the Reverend George Wright to perform the parochial duties ad interim, with whom he had already made the necessary arrangements;"

Voted unanimously, That the Reverend Robert Stanser have leave of absence from the parish for six months, and that it be communicated to Mr. Stanser that the parish accedes to his proposal that the Reverend Mr. Wright should officiate for him during his absence;

Voted unanimously, That the thanks of the parishioners be given to the Reverend Mr. Stanser for his diligent, faithful and conscientious discharge of the parochial duties, as also for his assiduous and affectionate attention to his parishioners during his residence among them. And that the Church-wardens and Vestry furnish him with a certificate expressive of the affectionate esteem of the parish, and of their high sense of his pious, diligent and faithful discharge of his various duties as pastor of this parish from his first induction thereinto, in the year 1791, to this present period."

It would appear that as at an earlier period already alluded to, there was some trouble concerning the music in the church. On this occasion, however, the feeling was in favor of the anthems, as formerly it was against them. On June 3rd, 1799, it was "Voted That the Church-wardens be authorized to procure thirty-five benches, 3 feet 10 inches long, to be placed in the middle aisle, and such other parts of the church as may be found most convenient for the accommodation of the Army and Navy who attend Divine Service. Agreed unanimously, "That the anthems, &c., as now performed



during Divine Service, accompanied with the organ, are perfectly consistent with the true spirit of devotion, and that the same be continued with the approbation of the commanding officers of the regiment ”

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel observes in its report for this year (1799) that “the Rev. Mr. Stanser, Missionary “ at Halifax, has acquainted the Society that the *Adriatic* had arrived, “ after 17 weeks voyage, and the books which the Society sent had “ not been spoiled.” His notitia for half a year was—baptisms, 85 infants and 1 adult; marriages, 46; burials, 44. The reason for Mr. Stanser’s asking leave of absence is manifest from the following note: “It was judged advisable on account of Mrs. Stanser’s ill health, that a voyage to England should be taken. He accordingly accompanied her there last summer, but returned back in the autumn. The Society have received the agreeable intelligence of their safe arrival at Halifax on the 11th of December last, after a very dangerous and long passage.”

For causes which cannot now easily, if at all, be obtained, there was a new deed granted of the property now possessed by the corporation of St. Paul’s. My own impression is that this deed became necessary in consequence of the course followed by the corporation a few years before in allowing His Royal Highness, the Duke of Kent, to add a part of the church lot to the Parade, or, in other words, they vitiated the original deed and were compelled, for the protection of what was left, to apply for a new one. Hence the following document:

#### NOVA SCOTIA.

GEORGE THE THIRD, *by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Frith, and so forth.*

TO ALL WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING.

Know you that we of our certain knowledge, special grace and mere motion, have given, granted and confirmed, and do by these presents give, grant and confirm unto the Reverend Robert Stanser, Rector of the Parish of St. Paul’s, in the Town of Halifax; Foster Hutchinson and Andrew Belcher, Esquires, Church Wardens of the same Parish and Town; the Honorable Richard Bulkeley, the Honorable Alexander Brymer, James Clarke, John Wm. Schwartz, William Taylor, Chas. Marshall, James Spry Heaton and Daniel Wood, Esquires, Mr. Joseph Davis, Mr. Edward Pryor and Mr. George Bell, all of the same Town of Halifax, Vestrymen of the same Parish of Saint Paul’s, a certain Lot or Piece of

Land, situate in the said town of Halifax, adjoining the said Church of Saint Paul's, being a yard for the use of the said church, and which is abutted and bounded as follows, to wit: On the east by Barrington Street, there measuring one hundred and eighty feet; on the south by Prince Street, and there measuring one hundred and fifty-eight feet; on the west by Argyle Street, and there measuring one hundred and eighty-eight feet; on the north by the present Parade, and there measuring one hundred and fifty-eight feet, more or less, containing one half of an acre and thirty-four rods of land, according to the plan annexed, with all and all manner, of mines unopened, excepting mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, and coals to have and to hold the said granted premises, with all privileges, profits, commodities and appurtenances thereunto belonging unto the said Robert Stanser, Foster Hutchinson and Andrew Belcher, Richard Bulkeley, Alexander Bryneer, James Clarke, John William Schwartz, William Taylor, Chas Marshall, James Spry Heaton, Daniel Wood, Joseph Davis, Edward Fryor and George Bell, and their successors in office as rector, churchwardens and vestrymen of the said Parish of Saint Paul's for ever in free and common soccage to and for the use and in trust for the parshioners of the said Parish of Saint Paul for the use of the said Church of Saint Paul, and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever, provided always, that the said churchyard shall not be used as a burying ground, and yielding and paying by the said grantees and their successors in office, as aforesaid, which by the acceptance hereof, they bind and oblige themselves and their successors in office to pay to His Majesty, his heirs and successors, or to any person lawfully authorized to receive the same a free yearly quit rent of one penny. The first payment of the quit rent to commence and become payable at the expiration of ten years from the date hereof, and so to continue payable yearly thereafter for ever. On default thereof, this grant to be null and void. Provided also that this grant shall have been registered at the Register's office, and a docquet thereof entered at the Auditor's office within six months from the date hereof, otherwise this grant shall become null and void.

Given under the great seal of our Province of Nova Scotia, witness our trusty and well beloved Sir John Wentworth, Bart., L. L. D., our Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-chief, in and over the said province this second day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, and in the thirty-ninth year of our reign.

(Signed) J. WENTWORTH.

Signed in council,

B. WENTWORTH, *Secretary.*

By His Excellency's command.

B. WENTWORTH, *Secretary.*

Registered the 2nd day of September, 1799,

B. WENTWORTH, *Registerer.*

Nova Scotia, Halifax, audited the 2nd September, 1799.

JAS. GAUTIER, D. A.

In the year 1800 the church-wardens were authorised to raise a general subscription for building a stone wall round the burying ground under their direction; and they were requested to obtain an estimate of the expense to lay before the parish at their next meeting.

In 1801 Mr. Stanser "baptised 141 infants and six adults, married 61 couples, and buried 181; of which number 91 were carried off by small pox, 71 in the natural way, and 21 by inoculation."

Unfortunately the records of St. Paul's church from this period until, A. D. 1824, are not to be found. What became of the minute book or books has never been ascertained, although the most searching attempt at discovery has been made. While this has been a serious misfortune the want has, to some extent, been supplied by the annual reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and from well preserved traditions. I shall narrate nothing which is not authentic, without stating the doubt.

In 1809 we learn that the parishioners were proceeding rapidly "with the new parsonage house, which, it is expected will be ready for him (the rector) this spring. His year's notitia is as follows: "Baptisms, 145; marriages, 83; burials, 112."

In the following year, 1815, Dr. Stanser acquainted the society that he was then occupying the new rectory house; and had just received another instance of the regard and affection of his parishioners by an unanimous vote at their annual meeting at Michaelmas last, to grant him a sum sufficient to pay for every article in it which could, in any shape, be deemed a fixture. In the last *half* year, he baptised 8 adults and 115 infants; married 50 couple; and buried 53.

In 1811 we learn that the congregation had so much increased, that the parishioners had resolved to erect a number of additional pews. During the last half year Dr. Stanser had baptised 120 infants and 3 adults; had married 41 couple; and buried 38 persons.

A large increase in the size of the building was made during the year 1812. The north end of the church received that additional part which now constitutes the vestibule, in which are the stairs leading to the galleries, and over which is the steeple. Mr. Andrew Belcher, son of Chief Justice Belcher and father of Sir Andrew, appears to have been the moving spirit of the time, for he it was who had cast and presented the three bells whose sound is so familiar to the citizens of Halifax. Indeed, everything connected with the

parish appears to have been most prosperous; the rector did his work with diligence and tact, and his people manifested their appreciation of him by the addition of £50 a year to his salary. A large sum of money was this year expended upon the building—£2,200—all the new pews being taken and not less than 390 persons joining the congregation.

In the midst of all this prosperity Dr. Stanser's wife fell ill and died June, 1815. So much beloved was this amiable woman by the congregation that a very chaste monument, executed in London, was put up to her memory in St. Paul's by the congregation. The doctor obtained leave of absence and went to England, leaving the Reverend Robert Willis, chaplain to the flagship at Halifax, to perform his duty.

At this time the Right Reverend Charles Inglis, whose health had so failed him for a few years that his son, the Rev. John Inglis had acted as his commissary, died at his residence at Aylesford. It was supposed by many that his son would succeed him in the office, and there is very little doubt that Mr. Inglis fully believed that he would take his father's place. The prognostication and expectation were not fulfilled. Dr. Stanser was very much beloved and was, in the ordinary acceptation of the phrase, a highly popular man. He held, moreover, the office of Chaplain of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly. Some of his friends, notably the late Honorable Henry Hezekiah Cogswell, at that time filling the office of Provincial Secretary, were very desirous that the rector should succeed to the bishopric. This gentleman, in consort with several others, drew out a memorial to the Imperial Government, requesting that Dr. Stanser should be appointed to fill the vacant see, and requested the council and assembly to sign it. This was done. In a short time the packet sailed for Falmouth, England, having on board the Rev. John Inglis as passenger, and the memorial in favor of Dr. Stanser as part of His Majesty's mail. The old gun-brig arrived safely, and both passenger and memorial were hurried up to London. The colonial authorities at once decided between the applications for the late prelate's vacant office. The legislature of the province carried the point and Rev. Dr. Stanser was appointed to the bishoprick, much to the chagrin of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who received the doctor not only with coldness but with a brusque if not rude manner. Mr. Inglis bore the disappointment with dignity and came back to

the discharge of his duties with a good spirit and was elected as the third rector of St. Pauls.

It will be well to notice the terms in which the S. P. G. F. P. speaks of this change in Halifax. "On the promotion of the Rev. Dr. Stanser to the Episcopate of Nova Scotia, the Rev. Dr. Inglis, Ecclesiastical Commissary, was appointed as his successor to the mission of St. Paul's, Halifax; and as a mark of the very high opinion entertained by the Society of his important services in the active superintendence of the Diocese during the long illness of the late Bishop, the Board have agreed to advance his salary £200 per annum; and in consideration of the very laborious duties attached to the Mission, they have deemed it expedient to allow £100 per annum for an assistant at St. Paul's. It had been for some time a favorite object with the Society to introduce the Madras System of education into the North American Colonies, and during the last summer, independent of many previous efforts, they have been enabled to carry this object into execution, with the most favorable prospect of success. At the recommendation of the National Society, they have engaged with Dr. West, at a very liberal salary, who had been educated at Baldwyn's Gardens, to embark for Halifax, and superintend the formation of a school upon the Madras principles. Information has been received that the establishment has met with a very favorable reception among all classes of the inhabitants. The patronage of His Excellency the Earl of Dalhousie has been obtained, a school-room has been fitted up, and the names of many scholars have already been entered upon the books. The school opened on the 2nd of December, and there is every reason to hope that, under the protection of the bishop, and the zealous superintendence of Dr. Inglis, the expectations of the Society will not be disappointed, and that the several schools in the North American Colonies will be induced to adopt the Madras system of education, when the great facilities afforded by it are made more manifest."

One cannot help being much struck with the importance attached to the introduction of this now defunct system of instructing children. It occupied the attention and elicited the influence and the means of the most thoughtful people of the Province. The report of the great English Society are full of it, entering into the most minute particulars. For example, it is noted in Halifax for the year 1818 that "a very liberal subscription has been raised under the patronage

of the Earl of Dalhousie, and the two Houses of Assembly, amounting to more than £100, and a school-room of considerable dimensions was immediately begun; great progress had been made in the work, and expectations were formed that it might be opened early in January, 1813; between two and three hundred scholars attended regularly."

It was a most unhappy circumstance that the newly-appointed bishop was, since the death of his amiable wife, completely broken in health, and, as time proved, wholly unequal to the discharge of the onerous duties imposed upon him. After his consecration to his office he returned to Halifax, but his health was affected to such a degree by the severity of the climate that it was deemed absolutely necessary for his Lordship to leave the province during the winter months, in the hope that his native air would so far restore his constitution as that he might return to his diocese in the spring. Previously to his embarkation for England, his Lordship "had the satisfaction of meeting his clergy, when, with the utmost difficulty, he performed the offices of visitation, confirmation and ordination." It will be noticed that in this last quotation from the Report of the S. P. G. F. P. that Dr. Stanser is styled his Lordship—a title which was not bestowed at any time nor by any persons on his predecessor. The bestowal of this title upon colonial bishops came about in the following manner: Dr. Stanser having been consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, a question arose as to whether he should be designated or addressed in the same way as the English Bishops. The point was settled by the Prince Regent emphatically saying to Dr. Stanser, when introduced to His Royal Highness at a levee, "I am glad to see your Lordship," or "How do you do, my Lord Bishop?"

When Dr. Inglis succeeded Dr. Stanser as Rector of St. Paul's, he was assisted by the Rev. J. Thomas Twining, son of the Missionary at Rawdon, and who had lately conducted the school at Windsor to the satisfaction of the Governors. The new rector became one of the most beloved of pastors. He was indefatigable in his exertions, and eminently successful in consolidating the parish. Acting as Ecclesiastical Commissary at the same time, an office which involved him in the most onerous duties in the Maritime Provinces, he appears to have fully satisfied the wishes of the parishioners, "he continues to receive," say the society, "the most gratifying attentions from his parishioners, and they have given him substantial proofs of

their regard, and their perfect satisfaction in the exemplary discharge of his duties by readily acquiescing in the proposals for erecting new galleries on each side of the organ, and in providing suitable decorations for the church. An addition has also been made to the Communion plate \* \* \* the parsonage house has been repaired and painted, and everything continues to render his intercourse with his parishioners, both in his public and private capacity, gratifying to his best feeling. Early in this year (1818) the new building for conducting the National School was opened, in the presence of the Earl of Dalhousie and the members of Council, with the appropriate prayer and hymn. There were in regular attendance 250 boys and 150 girls—Mr. West being head master.

Nothing of unusual interest occurred during the two following years except the resignation of Mr. West and the appointment of Mr. Gore, as master of the National School. This change gave a good deal of anxiety to Dr. Inglis, who was more than ordinarily interested in the work of education, not only in his own parish but throughout the province, seeking to establish similar schools in various parts of it.

## REV. JAMES MURDOCH.

1767—1799.

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We have always thought it strange that while the History of Missions to India and Africa to China and the Isles of the Pacific, is known to all the churches, the great trials of the men who first preached the Gospel in Canada should even among Canadians excite little interest. Every reader of Sabbath School literature knows of the labors of a Carey or a Judson, but can one in ten tell who, in the 17th or 18th centuries, preached the Gospel to the natives or colonists in Canada? Few are the memoirs accessible, at least to the general reader, of the early Recollect Fathers of the Sulpicians or of the Jesuits: of men like La Salle, Henipen and Labrosse, who left society, politics and literature to explore continents, trudging league after league on foot, or building rude boats and launching them on unknown rivers, to find wonderful cataracts and long stretches of water ending in, to them, limitless bays and shoreless lakes, to make friends of unfriendly savages, and to teach them the elements of christianity and civilization. Such memoirs would have taught us how these living epistles read by the unlettered Indian and the early colonists, forged and moulded the moral and political destiny of this "Canada of ours."

In this attempt to review the labors of a man who lived the last thirty-three years of the 18th century in Nova Scotia, the state of the country and society must be taken into account, as well as the inward springs and motives of his character, how the man's life as seen from his particular standpoint, or position, appeared to his mind, what was the effect of his surroundings on him and how did he react on them. Perhaps the pulpit, at that date, was what the platform, press and pulpit are now. Of light reading there was but little, and that little seldom found its way to the workingman's fire-side. The pages of Peter Porcupine, which pleased a Governor or amused a Prince, were the scouts of that legion of light literature which has since over-run the land. The first ten years after the



Treaty of Paris were eventful in Nova Scotia. The townships of Windsor, Horton, Truro, Onslow and Shelburne were granted, and the other districts were laid off and settled. Men from the north of Ireland emigrated to Londonderry, and the old French dykes were owned and repaired by Britons of various creeds. Catholic and Episcopalian Missionaries ministered to their own followers, and New Englander's claiming Pilgrim or Puritan descent brought their church polity and pastors with them, but Lutheran and Presbyterian were less fortunate. The Boston Presbytery, at this time numbering some dozen congregations, had sent repeated and most urgent appeals to the Scottish churches for more ministers. These appeals and the reports of the success of Brainard's mission to the Indians, also, the labours of Rev. Mr. Wood, an Episcopalian, among the Mic-Macs in Nova Scotia, turned the attention of students preparing for the ministry in the University of Edinburgh, to the foreign mission fields. Three young men belonging to the General Associate, or Antiburgher Synod, of Scotland, volunteered to go to North America. Before the time for leaving two of them withdrew, but the third resolved to proceed alone to work among the Indians, if possible, if not, to preach the Gospel there.

He was an only son. He had passed his life among books, and had just attained his majority, all his wants had been liberally supplied by loving and wealthy parents, and he had no fears for the future. In this state of mind he returned to his father's house, at Gillie Gordon, Donegal County, Ireland. Here more obstacles had to be overcome than those raised by his own family. Pressing pleas from two home parishes to labor in them, and a call from Lisburne were all set aside, and after a year's detention he was ordained at Kye, Sept. 2nd, by the Presbytery of Newton Limavady for "The Province of Nova Scotia, or any other part of the American Continent where God in his Providence might call him." With this unlimited commission, this unsalaried missionary sailed in the autumn of 1766, and in due time landed in Halifax. Here he found no opening for work among the Indians, and accepted an invitation to preach for the Dissenters in Halifax. Here he might have remained, but he could not be recreant to the church which sent him out, and there were many adherents of that body among the newly arrived emigrants and settlers scattered over the western part of the Province.

In the Halifax congregation the majority was not Presbyterian, but Congregational.

The following letter from leading member of that body to his wife gives a glimpse of Halifax a few years before this date :

HALIFAX, Sept. 2nd, 1759.

MY DEAR SUKEY,—

This is the first opportunity of writing to Boston since your departure. I hope this will find you safe arrived there to the joy and satisfaction of yourself and friends, the news whereof will afford me pleasure. I received your agreeable favour from Lunenburg by Mr. Newton, am sorry for any uneasiness which happened between you and the Newtonian family, but am glad you had spirit enough to let them know that you by no means looked upon yourself as under the least obligation to them. The Governor did not even mention either of their names, when I spake to him about your passage in Capt. Roger's ship.

Since you have been gone the Governor has more than once enquired whether I have heard from you, and drank your safe arrival in a bumper; indeed the Governor has of late been more than ordinary complaisant to me; as you will perceive by some papers in the enclosed journal.

We are all very well, Ben goes to school regularly; Abbie's delicate skin is a little sunburnt, it is impossible to keep her always in the house. Mac is as hearty as a brick, he says "mama a gone to Bancon," he is much admired in that part of the town where he lives.

I enclose you a journal of our dinners, company etc., since your departure, for your amusement, for I know you to be a very woman for curiosity. Hagar behaves better than ever. I have only to tell her what I want and it is got at the minute I order it, and in the nicest manner. Mrs. Binney was surprised to see how well everything was dressed, and how exceedingly nice Hagar had provided everything, but said she had a good tutor, meaning you. Jack is Jack still, but rather worse, I am obliged to exercise the cat or stick almost every day, I believe Halifax dont afford such another idle deceitful villian, pray purchase a negro boy if possible.

I have, by this opportunity, sent Mr. Jackson a bill on Mr. Hancock for £200 and ordered him to supply you with what ever you please to call for, whether of necessity or convenience for yourself or family; dont forget to bring something for Hagar.

As to your coming home I would not have you exceed the 1st of October, as after that time you may expect bad weather.

I would have you bring half a barrel of neat's tongues, some butter, some nuts, also get half a barrel of good corned beef, and some green pepper, but why need I mention any of these things to you, I am sure your careful temper and disposition will engage you to procure everything that is prudent and necessary. I find that it is not good for man to be alone, I am weary of my life without you, and should urge your coming home immediately were it not that I think you are happy in the company of your friends in Boston.

Your father will sail for Boston in about a week when I shall write you again, and you may depend upon it that I shall lose no opportunity of writing to you.

Tell Mrs. Jackson I will disown her for my sister if she will not write me, and I charge you to bring Betsy to Halifax with you. Inclosed is a letter from Mr. Smith to you, which he asked my liberty to send you. Dont come away without my account from Mr. Jackson. I have purchased some geese and some young ducks which I shall fatten till you arrive, I know you are very foud of ducklings. I have laid in most of my wood ; have got the chief of my fence done ; am now enclosing the fine green pasture at the back of our garden.

The Governor comes regularly every morning to see how I go on, he has this day given me a very good lot in the north suburbs.

From your affectionate husband,

MALACHY SALTER.

This wealthy aristocratic New England society, was highly pleased with the handsome scholarly young minister, he was a tall, slight man, with a fine eye, a good voice, and he was a pleasing, accomplished speaker, with earnestness, meekness, humility and devotion to the Master's cause.

Many of these gentlemen had grants of the old Acadian farms in the newly laid out township of Horton, where the minister got a grant of 40 acres on the Grand Prè with an upland farm, and a wood lot on the mountain.

Part of this land was for his father, John Murdoch, who was a wealthy farmer and flax grower, and who gave employment to many flax-dressers and spinners. The family was originally Scottish and Protestant ; his grandfather had been killed on account of his faith. They had been a century in Ireland, when Mr. Murdoch, his wife, mother, an only daughter, and a young man, his prospective son-in-law, who belonged to an old Protestant English family, but long settled in Ireland, packed up their personal property and sailed with a party of emigrants for Nova Scotia.

When they came to Horton Mr. Murdoch bought half of his son's land, as a marriage portion for his daughter, with the proviso that her parents should always live with their son-in-law, who rented the other half, and they began work in America by repairing their share of the old French dyke around the Gaspereaux.

The minister built a two-storey house on his part, a good, roomy, substantial dwelling, which remaineth to the present time, and is *now* a very comfortable old-fashioned house. He had it finished and furnished in time to receive his bride. He married Abigail, the daughter of Malachy Salter, Esq., M. P. P. for Halifax—afterwards for Yarmouth—the fair Abbie mentioned in the letter. Here ho

lived for the next twenty years, preaching regularly in the church at Horton, and to scattered Scotch-Irish settlers in Windsor, Cornwallis, Cumberland, Parrsboro, Amherst, also from Noel to the mouth of the Shubenacadie and up both sides of the river, leaving his wife to the solitude of her own home for weeks at a time, when visiting and preaching in his widely spread mission fields. His salary was free-will offerings, but how much had these new settlers in the woods to give? They escorted him on his journeys in a boat, or on horseback, if the roads permitted them. Mr. and Mrs. Salter came from Halifax to Horton, on horseback, to see their first baby grandson. In the course of the year Mrs. Murdoch returned the visit, her brother-in-law accompanied her on horseback, carrying the baby in his arms, she seated on a pillion behind him. Most of these years were years of trouble, war and rebellion were at the door, fear of Indians and dread of privateers, with the want of roads, added to the general discomfort. Men were drafted and congregations broken up. Rev. Mr. Lyons, Presbyterian minister, returned to New England, and Mr. Kinloch to Scotland. While one Congregationalist minister was accused of preaching treason, many others returned to Boston, accompanied by numbers of their people, among the latter was Mr. Adams, whose family gave two President's to the Republic, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, of Yarmouth, father of the talented historian of the United States, and Rev. Isaac Cheever, of Liverpool, left Nova Scotia; but the Rev. Jonathan Scott, of Chebogue, one of Nova Scotia's earliest authors, Rev. John Frost, of Aigyle; Rev. Ashbel Morse, at Annapolis and Granville, and the Rev. Mr. Seccombe, at Chester, were still in the country, when Henry Alline came to break the repose of the pulpit and to the extreme of classic doctrine, to offer the extreme of warm, impassioned feeling. Piety was almost out of sight. The first Bishop of Nova Scotia bewailed evils which threatened to overthrow religion and morality. A resident of Halifax, writing to Dr. Styles, says, "the business of one half of the town appears to be to make rum, of the other half to drink it, from this our morals may be judged, and infer that we are not enthusiastic in religion." From 80 to 90 thousand gallons of rum had been made in some years. Lord William Campbell, by proclamation, had forbidden horse-racing at Halifax, as it led to gambling, idleness and immorality, but in the petty towns dancing was fashionable, and besides these evils, the country was stirred politically. Men

called upon to swear allegiance refused. The suspicions of men in and about the government added fuel to the flame. Mr. Murdoch's father-in-law, Mr. Salter, was arrested on a charge of treason, and gave bail to a large amount, was tried by the supreme court and acquitted. Two other friends were twice accused of treasonable doings; a near neighbor, his wife's cousin, a member of parliament, was accused and acquitted by a vote of his peers. Yet, through all these troubles, Mr. Murdoch's loyalty never wavered, he gave to God things which belonged to God, and to Cæsar things which belonged to Cæsar, and counselled others to do the same. He well knew treasonable letters were written, some of them yet extant, which were read by many a fireside in his broad parish. Traitors, emissaries, and spies were abroad in it. One of these entered a blacksmith's shop at Shubcnacadie, the smith was at the forge making a shoe, the man began to read a letter, the smith listened until his outraged loyalty could not be repressed, he drew the red-hot shoe, and as the "approximate" rebel fled, he deftly cut off his queue.

Mr. Murdoch threw all his influence, and few will deny a minister's influence at that day and in his situation was great, on the side of the king; had he urged the people to join their friends in Onslow, Truro and Cumberland, as strenuously as he urged them to be true, and support the government, even when the acts were oppressive and apparently high-handed, the "History of our own Times" might have been different.

There seems to have been but one period in his life, namely, manhood. As a young man at college he shows that resoluteness and inflexibility which characterizes manhood. He has a clearness respecting himself, he ascertains his peculiar aim, and pursues it with that singleness of will which ensures success. He was to preach the gospel in America, to preach in accord with the church which sent him. To the last he never swerved, this is his chief and sole work. He followed it through good and ill health, fighting with a disease which, at any moment might attack him, in the house, or by the way, yet retaining his cheerfulness; at all times a friend, a counsellor, a gentleman, the ambassador of Christ. In every situation seeking contentment in action and wise effort, exemplifying that the true happiness of a man is to be found in a clear decided activity in the sphere which his lot is cast. He was a teacher, not personal enjoyment he set before the world, he expected no kindness from it, but

was bound to do it great kindness in a high heroic idea of religion and patriotism in that love of God and country which neither shrank from duty nor proclaimed that it had been done.

At the ordination of Mr. Comingo before the Governor and chief men of the town, he gave his views on an uneducated ministry. Were they not pleas for a college? "He is a man of law and order, co-operate with him," the New England Presbytery so instructed their missionary, although he always maintained that their slaves were not chattels.

In the following letter we have a hint of his health, and of some family affairs :

HORTON, Dec. 15th, 1790.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,—

I have just to inform you that your affectionate and tender loving grandmother (aged 72) departed this life the third instant and was laid in the silent grave the fifth following; she continued ill and was confined to her bed for about the space of six weeks, the fatigue of waiting on grandfather it is probable helped to hasten her dissolution. He is still in the land of the living, but waiting, rather with impatience for the great change to depart and be with Christ which is far better, strong in faith, having such an anchor of hope fixed—that neither heights nor depths, powers or principalities, he is resolved with the apostle, shall separate him from the love of his God, which is above all understanding.

I have been from Parsborough now about two months, being detained by reason of your mother and children's affairs and the melancholy, &c. Both of you, my children, tho you live not with your parents, yet live with those that will be happy in your prudence of behaviour and will rejoice in your steadiness of conduct, which, with the blessing of your heavenly Father, will tend to promote your temporal and eternal welfare. My own state of health is much better than it has been. I have been now a long time under Dr. Fraser's hand, and have used his prescriptions. My Epilptic fits are not near so frequent, and when they come are not near so violent. Who knows that but by the blessing of the Almighty, I may not get wholly free from my disorder.

I remain, with tenderness, your loving and  
affectionate father till death,

JAMES MURDOCH.

P. S.—Your mamma requests you, Andrew, to send your letter by Mr. Wm. \_\_\_\_\_

TO ANDREW MURDOCH AND SUSAN MURDOCH, Halifax.

Sometime before this date a severe financial affliction had overtaken him, no less than the loss of his truly beautiful house and

farm, which by some legal quibble, was most unjustly made to include the half of the original grant, for which his father had paid him. The once wealthy father was made penniless in his old age, with his children and 18 grandchildren; but though earthly titles have proved a fraud, the dying dropsical old man is in no doubt about a title to a better land. His brother-in-law Frame has rented a farm which is a home for the old folks and some of the younger members of the minister's family. Musquodoboit has a small Presbyterian colony from the south, among these the minister fixes his abode, his first house is burned by fire from a chopping, a severe loss; but another is built, a small and very mean dwelling for his wife, who, in her childhood, had been patted by governors and tended by slaves; but here she resolutely shared her husband's lot for some nine years. He had preached at Horton and Windsor until another minister came, and continued to preach at Parsborough, Fort Lawrence, Amherst, Cumberland, Economy until these places had other supply, and at Shubenacadie, Gay's River and Musquodoboit, mostly in private houses.

As it is a man's inward, not his outward misfortunes which bring him to the dust, he was strong, resting on an unseen arm, he could write, "greatly aided in my discourse," and "remarkable manifestations not fit to be uttered," and again "very weak but greatly strengthened," so in this spirit of silent fearlessness, he went on to the end. His manuscripts are only fragments, but they teach us to reverence the man. Here is his work from the middle of December, 1792, until the middle of January, 1793. Two men appears to have come for him, so he "sets out very early in the morning with them and travels through the woods 12 miles to Gay's River; next day they cross the Shubenacadie, breaking the ice with a stick, walking about ten or twelve miles; on the third day he travels a little distance and fulfils his errand, which was to marry a couple; fourth day he visits, and the fifth day he is detained at Fort Ellis by a very severe snow storm, which does not prevent him from again crossing the river, walking several miles, and on Sabbath preaches to a full house and baptizes a baby; in the afternoon he walks to another house and has baptism. Is it surprising that he "rested indifferently on Sabbath night and was afraid of his disorder, but escaped. All the next week he visited on both sides of the river, preached on Sunday, and on Monday he set out for home, taking a different rout,

so he could make a call on some distant settler, and on the third day he reached home. Here he spends the remainder of the week in preparing two discourses for the next Sabbath. He fixes on a good analysis, jots the leading thoughts under each head, combining the doctrinal and the practical, leaving the fullness and the finish to an extemporaneous effort.

Next Sabbath morning he walks a few miles and preaches in a dwelling house, again in the evening he baptizes two children, is from home all night, and has a severe epileptic fit. He reaches home on Monday, finds the neighbours hauling wood. Next day two of them return to repair the chimney, which they happily accomplished, for he records, "a severe day of cold," fancy the wife and little ones shivering on a January day without a fire while the cat and clay chimney is being repaired. This week he has a marriage some distance up the river, he preaches also, and then off to Stewiacke, where he marries another couple; thus in less than five weeks he has travelled upwards of 100 miles; that means walked that distance, performed three marriages and four baptisms, preached eight or nine times, besides the talks.

In all his spare moments he taught his own children, and some of the neighbour boys studied Euclid and surveying with him.

So he went on until the end came, suddenly. On Thursday, Nov. 21st, 1799, he went out for a walk; a short time afterwards he was found partially in the river, dead. God had called him as suddenly as He called his great-grandson, J. B. Morrow, a few weeks ago.

He was buried near the river. His family, his sessions, and the inhabitants of many distant settlements lamented his death. For a time there were silent Sabbaths in the little log houses, and a magistrate united the young people in marriage.

Mr. Murdoch died in the 55 year of his age and 33 of his ministry; he left a widow, ten children and little property. There was not a widow or orphan's fund in the church to support them. But if his career seemed a failure for his family, for the church it was a success. The stations he fostered has long since grown into strong churches, while the congregational societies of that day, numerically and financially, stronger; yet, left without pastors, were lost to the denomination. His family suffered many privations; four of his six sons died in early manhood; one died a lieutenant in the royal navy, one in the Mediterranean. His youngest son and two grandsons went



to the United States. By the death of Beamish Murdoch, the Historian of Nova Scotia, unmarried, the name became extinct. But through his daughters his descendants bear the names of Duffus, Cunard, Morrow, Henry, Ritchie, Sangster, proving that the heritage of prayer is nobler and more enduring than the heritage of money.

## SIR ALEXADNER CROKE.

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*By the Hon. Adams G. Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.*

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The Province of Nova Scotia has, in its day, been the temporary home of many a man of mark. Some of these have come among us, have flitted for a while across the Provincial stage and then disappeared, leaving little, if any, trace of their ever having been in the country. Others, during a short sojourn, have done things which permanently affected, for good or for evil, the future of the Province. As to some of them the influence of their actions is still felt, and will continue to be felt, for years to come. Of this class, he whose name stands at the head of this paper, was a striking example. Yet, of Sir Alexander Croke (or Dr. Croke, as he was while here,) little is known by our people generally. The legal profession are aware that he presided over the Court of Vice-Admiralty, at Halifax, for a period of twelve years, but, beyond that fact, they know little of him. At the time Dr. Croke was judge, England had on her hands a war with France, which began in 1803, and did not end till the overthrow of Napoleon in 1814. In the latter part of this period, from June 1810 up to the time of the Treaty of Ghent, which bears date in 1814, she was also engaged in hostilities with the United States. The period from 1803 to 1814 was one of great activity in the Prize Court at Halifax. The decisions of Judge Croke are reported in a volume containing some six hundred pages published in 1814, by Mr. Stewart, then Solicitor General, afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court. The decisions are regarded by the profession as able interpretations of International Law, and evince very considerable powers of mind, as well as much legal research. If there were nothing to say of Dr. Croke except what refers to the business of the Admiralty Court, we should have

told all that was necessary, when we had said that he discharged very respectably the duties of his judicial position : but accident gave him an opportunity of interfering, to some extent, in matters outside the scope of these duties. It is his conduct in those matters which gives Nova Scotians a special interest in the biography of a man whom they might otherwise have allowed to pass away from memory. This it is which forms our excuse for placing on record some transactions with which his name is connected.

Dr. Croke was borne at Aylesbury, England, on the 22nd July, 1758, the same year in fact which gave Nova Scotia its first General Assembly. He belonged to a good old English family ; he was said to be lineally descended from the Sir George Croke, who so ably defended the cause of national liberty in the case of Hampden's imprisonment for refusing to pay King Charles' arbitrary tax of ship-money. The original name of the family is said to have been Blount, but an ancestor of Dr. Croke, in the time of Henry IV, having adhered too warmly to Richard's losing side, was obliged to conceal himself for some years, and with that view adopted the name of Croke. When the union of the two royal lines took place, and the marriage of Henry VII with the heiress of the House of York, rendered safe the resumption of the original name, the family had become accustomed to the surname of Croke, and continued to use it till it became celebrated in the person of Sir George Croke already referred to, whose reports in the time of Elizabeth, James and Charles, are so well known as "Cro. Elizabeth," "Cro. Jac.," and "Cro. Car."

Mr. Croke matriculated as a gentleman commoner of Oriel College, Oxford. After completing his course there he kept his terms at the Inner Temple, and was in 1786 called to the bar, as a member of that Society. While resident in London, in attendance at the Temple, he improved by diligent study the learning he had previously gained at school and in the University.

On leaving Oxford he had removed his name from the books of the college, but he replaced it about the year 1794, when he made up his mind to adopt the law as a profession. With this view he re-commenced his legal studies, intending to become an advocate in Doctor's Commons. Three years subsequently he took the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Civil Law, and shortly afterwards was admitted at the Commons.

Here he soon attracted the notice of Sir William Scott, whom he had previously known at the University. After a short interval he was selected by Sir William to report an important judgment which that eminent civilian had delivered in a case relative to the marriage of illegitimate minors. To this report Dr. Croke prefixed an essay on the theory and history of the Statutes relative to illegitimate children, and on the policy of the law in the encouragement of marriage. The publication of these papers brought the author into notice, and practice soon followed. In the course of the next year he was requested by the government to answer an attack upon the proceedings in the Courts of Admiralty with respect to neutral nations, made by a Mr. Schlegel, a Danish lawyer of some eminence. This task Dr. Croke performed very ably. The reply was received with approbation by those most competent to form an opinion upon so abstruse a subject. This pamphlet was most probably the immediate cause of an offer made to him soon after its publication, to become judge of one of the Vice-Admiralty Courts in America, a post in the line of his study and forensic practice. Shortly before this time the old prize commissions of the admiralty in America had been revoked, except only those of Jamaica and Martinique. Then came the Act of 31, Geo. III, cap. 96, by which two Vice-Admiralty Courts, one in the West Indies, the other in Halifax, were authorized to issue process to any other British colony in America in the same manner as if the court were established in the colony to which the process issued. A salary not exceeding £2,000 a year, together with fees, was attached to the office of judge of each court, but with a proviso that in no case was a judge to receive in fees more than £2,000 over and above his salary.

In August 1801, Dr. Croke being offered his choice of the Prize Courts created under the Act, chose that of Halifax. Thither he repaired towards the close of the year. He entered upon his judicial duties under pleasant auspices. He came to Nova Scotia with a high reputation as a lawyer; he enjoyed the friendship of the greatest civilian of the day, Sir William Scott, who afterwards became Lord Stowell. He was only forty-three years old and in the full vigor of his intellect.

Dr. Croke, on the bench, acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the public as well as of the Bar. It is only when he comes down from the judgment-seat and takes part in the ordinary business of

life, or is called upon to perform work with which he is little familiar, that we find him deficient. We can then see very plainly that a man may be a good lawyer and yet a very poor administrator: that his judgment may be sound within the limits to which it has been trained, but utterly worthless when acting beyond those limits. In the exercise of functions of a judicial character there is, indeed, little room for vagaries; a sound lawyer follows the track laid down by authority or pointed out by analogy. There is comparatively little occasion for a knowledge of the dispositions of men or for skill in their management; no need to resort to compromises, no right to be governed by policy or expediency. On the contrary such proceedings in a judge would be most reprehensible. It sometimes happens in this way that men who are excellent judges fail in other things. Their actions off the bench are sometimes as much distinguished by want of prudence and sagacity as their decisions on it are marked by sound learning and solid judgment.

Dr. Croke arrived in Nova Scotia at a time when Sir John Wentworth was still Governor. Sir John had held office since 1792, having been appointed shortly after the death of Governor Parr, and while still only Mr. Wentworth. Before the American revolution he had been Governor of New Hampshire, his native Province, and also Royal Commissioner of all His Majesty's Woods and Forests in America. His case gave him peculiar claims on the Crown. In common with his fellow loyalists he had lost his own property and home, but besides this his Commissionership of Woods and Forests was, by the peace of 1783, reduced, in extent, by one-half, and, in profits, in a still greater proportion. This made him feel the Revolution in a sense that was always present to him. When, therefore, he was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, he was an exile from his native country, stripped of his own estate and also restricted to a small part of the domain over which his commissionership had extended. With this sense of personal injury, and of personal and official sacrifices, Mr. Wentworth was in no mood to view in a generous spirit the introduction of liberal principles into Nova Scotia. He was, unquestionably, sincere in his political views. With him, very naturally, liberal sentiments were in the same category with sedition and rebellion. To utter the language of freedom, he believed to be the first step towards insurrection.

Dr. Croke, soon after his arrival, was appointed to the council and

assigned a position in rank next after the Chief Justice. For the period of six years next following, till the arrival of Sir George Prevost in 1808, Dr. Croke was intimately associated with Sir John Wentworth and his Government and fully shared the feelings and spirit of the period. Sir John held office as governor for sixteen long years. Shortly after his appointment to Nova Scotia he was elevated to a baronetcy. Sir George Prevost superseded him on the 15th January, 1808. Our relations with the United States were then somewhat strained, and it is not improbable that the British Government were guided in the change they made, by the necessity of having a military man at the head of the government of Nova Scotia. Be that as it may, Sir John appears to have had no notice of his impending deposition. Sir George Prevost in April, shortly after landing at Halifax, writes that he found Sir John wholly unprepared for his arrival.

Sir John appears not to have been a good manager of his private affairs. Sir George speaks of his reduced circumstances, notwithstanding his income from the Woods. Sir John was then living in the present Government House, which had been begun in 1800 and was now habitable. The building was one of his pet projects, and, according to Sir George Prevost, his residence in it "was the cause of his reduced circumstances, as the edifice was out of all proportion to the situation."

Some time afterwards Sir John moved out of the house, which was immediately afterwards occupied by the new governor.

In the month of July, Sir George Prevost was instructed by the British authorities to hold his troops in readiness for a distant service. This turned out to be an expedition against the French island of Martinique. Sir George, with his forces, set out during the session of the General Assembly in November. Dr. Croke, as senior councillor after the Chief Justice, was entitled to the office of administrator, or president, as it was then called. Sir George seems not to have been without some fear of what might happen under Dr. Croke's rule. He writes to Lord Castlereagh that "in his absence the civil government would devolve upon an able though rather unpopular character, the Judge of the Admiralty," and he adds, "as he is a new man in the community, I have reason to believe that on his assuming the chair the Chief Justice will withdraw from the council for a time. The Chief Justice being senior coun-

“cillor his disqualification is unfortunate, as he is most deservedly  
“and universally esteemed.”

Sir George's forebodings, as we shall find by and by, were only too well justified by the result. Sir George's letter bears date in 1808. Dr. Croke had now been five years in the Province. What had he done in the mean time to earn the reputation ascribed to him in a letter so remarkable for want of official reticence?

Some things with which he was connected we shall proceed to tell.

One of his first acts in connection with local matters was in his capacity as one of the Governors of Kings College, Windsor. The Crown had granted a charter to that institution in 1802, the year succeeding Dr. Croke's arrival. The charter created a corporate body, consisting of Governors, President and Fellows. A number of officials named in the charter were to be in the list of Governors. One of these was the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty; another the Bishop of the Province, who was also to be the Visitor. The power of making statutes for the government of the corporation, was vested in the Board of Governors, who met for that purpose shortly after the charter reached here. At the meeting a committee was appointed to draft the statutes and report at a future day. The committee consisted of the Bishop, Dr. Croke and Chief Justice Blowers.

Shortly afterwards the Board met to receive the report which was drawn by Dr. Croke and approved by the Chief Justice, but from which the Bishop dissented in some particulars. The Board then proceeded to the consideration of the statutes, and by a majority adopted the code as prepared by Dr. Croke. This proceeding has, from that day to this, had a most baneful influence on the higher education of the Province. The Assembly of the day represented every denomination of christians. Of these there were five principal bodies in the Province. The smallest of the five were the Episcopalian; Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists composed the other four-fifths of the people.

The endowment for Windsor College was granted by the General Assembly in 1797, five years before the date of King George's charter. When the grant was asked for in the House, no question of denomination was raised. The grant was given to promote higher education. It was given by representatives of all classes and creeds. It was never supposed that the objects of the grant could be controlled or affected by the language of a charter that did not then

exist. The sum of £400 a year was given as a contribution from the public funds to aid a superior educational institution for the youth of the Province.

Of the statutes adopted in 1803 some were more obnoxious than others; those that were the most obnoxious were carried mainly by the predominant influence of Dr. Croke on the Board; one of them was carried against the strong remonstrances of the Bishop of the day, the Visitor of the College, who had been sixteen years in the Province in the exercise of his episcopal functions, and who, though not by any means remarkable for the liberality of his opinions, could not go to the full length with Dr. Croke.

The statute to which the Bishop objected required every student at his matriculation to sign the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. This, in effect, excluded four-fifths of the class for whom the College was required, from the benefits of higher education. The money of all was taken to found the institution, but its doors were shut to youths of every creed but one. This was more than the Bishop, with all his High Church views, could venture to do. He accordingly protested against the statute, but in vain; Dr. Croke's influence was too much for him. The protest was over-ruled. Not only so, but when the statutes were printed, the protest was suppressed, so that there was nothing to show that the statutes had not passed unanimously. The Bishop remonstrated against the suppression, but was again over-ruled. Dr. Croke carried a resolution of the Board that "it would have been highly improper to have published the protest with the statutes."

With such a rebuff as that, it is not surprising that the Bishop prosecuted the appeal to the Patron of the College, the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was allowed by the charter. Eventually the whole of the codes was vetoed. A new code, of which the Bishop approved, was adopted by the Board and confirmed by the Patron.

The new code nominally gave to all students the right to matriculate, but it confined the honors and degrees to persons subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles. In this respect, therefore, it differed from the statute against which the Bishop protested. The injustice which took money from all, and gave honors only to part, still remained. Some young men, not churchmen, were now permitted to obtain an education in the college, but those so indulged, not being entitled to the seal which attested their success in learning and their collegiate



education, had to pass into the business of life without a certificate of standing. But though the statute expressly excluding from matriculation all but such as subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles was not included in the new code, in so many words, its spirit remained. Every student was obliged to swear to the observance of all the statutes, and one of these provided that he should attend the religious exercises of the Church of England within the College walls; another provided that he should "not frequent the Romish mass or the "meeting-houses of Presbyterians, Baptists, or Methodists, or the "conventicles or places of worship of any other dissenters, or be "present at any seditious or rebellious meetings," so that the doors were open only to a portion of those whom the original statute excluded. If a student would not swear to forego the religious observances to which he had been trained; if he was unwilling to see these observances put in the same category with sedition and rebellion, if, in a word, without being obliged to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, he could treat all Articles of Religion as unworthy of belief, he might be admitted. If conscientious on these points, Windsor was no place for him. To become a student of King's College a youth might be good or bad, if he was only an Episcopalian, but he must be a very indifferent professor of any other creed, if he was prepared to matriculate at Windsor.

Croke's code required apostacy, the Bishop's only indifference. Perhaps on the whole the course of Croke was the more straightforward of the two. He meant that all who were not churchmen should be excluded; the Bishop treated anyone who had sufficient contempt for all religion to abjure his own creed, as entitled to matriculation, and considered him in that respect as equal to a churchman.

Such was the liberality of 1803, as indicated by the head of the Episcopal Church in the colony. Under these circumstances it would perhaps be unfair to ascribe to Dr. Croke all the odium which attaches to the framers of the Code for the Government of King's College. But certain it is that he exerted a powerful influence at the Board of Governors. He was himself a graduate of Oxford; he came to this country with the belief that whatever suited England ought to suit Nova Scotia; he knew little or nothing of our people, their religious divisions, their opinions or their prejudices. If he had known something of all these, it would not have affected his actions. It was enough that centuries ago, Oxford adopted rules in a

country where the bulk of the people were of one creed, and which therefore suited the bulk of the people. To him it made no difference that the bulk of the people here were not of that creed; so much the worse for the people! How different would have been the condition of collegiate education in the Province, if the Governors of King's College had been content that youth of every creed should be entitled, if duly qualified, to all the education and all the honors the College could bestow. King's ought not only to have been the oldest, as it is, but also the only college in Nova Scotia. Around it should have clustered the feelings and affections of the whole people; it should have been the *alma mater* of every young Nova Scotian of superior education.

The spirit of blunders and mismanagement seems to have prevailed in everything connected with the statutes of King's College. The original code was printed and circulated, after it had passed in 1803. When the new code was adopted in 1807, it was neither printed nor circulated. To all the outside world, therefore, it seemed that matriculation was confined to students belonging to the Church of England. It was not till 1821, seven years after Dr. Croke had left the Province, and fourteen years after the new code was adopted, that it was put in print and copies distributed. It would seem, therefore, that the authorities of the College had identified themselves with the exclusive spirit of Dr. Croke, or at all events that they took no pains (even after he had left their Board) to correct (even to the extent of the obnoxious clause) the impression which his bigotry and intolerance had produced on the country.

The events we have detailed will account, in some measure, for the unpopularity of Dr. Croke among men of liberal sentiments throughout the Province, but he did other things by which he managed to incur the personal dislike and even enmity of the class of people in Halifax with whom he was daily brought in contact, either socially or in the discharge of his duties as Judge and Councillor. Dr. Croke was a man of some literary ability. Besides the papers from his pen which had led to his appointment as Judge, he had written several pamphlets on political or economical subjects which were not without merit. It would have been wise in him to confine his efforts to such subjects, but that was not to be.

In the year after his arrival he bought a property comprising thirty acres, situate on the peninsula of Halifax, about half a mile

west of the present Government House, to which he gave the name of Studley, in honor of the estate of that name which belonged to his family in Oxfordshire, England. The site commanded a view of the North-west Arm and the entrance of the harbor. On this he built a large and commodious house; the grounds he laid out with much taste. The estate was well wooded; in a pretty grove he erected a bower, inscribing on its entrance some lines, which we quote, in order to show some features of the character he affected as a man, and at the same time to give a specimen of his powers as a versifier:

Ye who all weary, guide your wandering feet  
 'Midst life's rough crags which piercing thorns entwine,  
 A while beneath this lowly roof retreat,  
 Sacred to Peace—a pure though rustic shrine.  
 Fly hence swoll'n pomp to every vice allied,  
 Inconstancy to nuptial vows untrue,  
 Comus with frantic Riot by your side,  
 And mad Ambition's ever restless crew;  
 Hence, for in vain ye deem no mortal sees  
 Your inly sickening hearts unfit for scenes like these,  
 These myrtled knolls demand far other guests,  
 And where the dark'ning woods unbounded spread  
 O'er earth's primeval rocks their gorgeous vest  
 By human hand untamed, save where its head  
 Yon massy Tower lifts o'er the Western main,  
 And looks to Britain. There let innocence  
 With sweet Simplieity, enchanters twain,  
 Unfading charms, celestial grace, bestow—  
 Such as their natures feel, and only they can know.

In this retreat Dr. Croke is said to have composed a certain poem which he afterwards put in private circulation in manuscript form, which created great excitement among the good people of Halifax. It seems as if from this spot, sacred to *Peace*, he had issued a declaration of *war*. Those who were the subjects of his poem would never have supposed it was composed in a region where “celestial Grace” was flourishing, and where “Innocence and sweet Simplicity” were the only suitable guests.

If, indeed, the statements contained in the Inquisition are to be implicitly trusted, we might conclude that, whatever there might have been of “Innocence and sweet Simplicity” in the bower, outside of it, at all events, neither of these virtues was to be found in

great profusion in the society of Halifax. If "Comus and frantic Riot" were excluded from Studley, they would seem to have full swing in the rest of the town.

No doubt there was much in the little court of Sir John Wentworth that would seem absurd and ridiculous to an onlooker. The jealousies and the rivalries, and the struggles for superiority in the infant society of the capital, were tempting themes for satire. Unfortunately for Dr. Croke, they were too tempting. Some personal slight, either to himself or his wife, is said to have added a desire for retaliation to his anxiety to display the talents of a satirist. Be that as it may, members of all the leading families of Halifax were made the "dramatis personæ" of one of his poems. He introduced them not exactly by name, but with names so thinly disguised that everybody could see who were meant. All were made to play ridiculous, some, scandalous parts, and altogether the society of Halifax must have been shocked at so daring and outrageous an attack upon its dignitaries and their families. Had this been the production of some obscure person, had it emanated from a stranger, it would have fallen flat. There was nothing in the poem much above mediocrity; the bitter taunts were marks of bad temper rather than of great wit. It derived its principal interest from its authorship. A judge of the land, a member of the Legislative Council, an advisor of the Lieutenant-Governor, a colleague of the Chief Justice and the Bishop, one of the Governors of King's College, the author of religious tests at Windsor—the man filling all these positions, was turning into ridicule and holding up to scorn, his friends, his colleagues, his associates, and their wives and families. It is no wonder that Halifax got its back up. A feeling of universal resentment ensued; the atmosphere was full of the indignation and dislike which Sir George Prevost suggests in the words "rather unpoplar character." We must not forget one other little poem which found its way into circulation about the same time. It will be recollected that the Bishop was one degree less bigoted than the judge, and had succeeded in convincing the Archbishop of Canterbury that his opinions were high enough for a colony. The judge accepted the defeat, but paid the Bishop off in another way. He accordingly put into private circulation a little poem entitled "A Cure for Love," in which he represented the Bishop, then at an advanced age, as taking advantage of a ride on horseback, in which he

was accompanied by a young lady, to make proposals of marriage to her. She, not disposed to accept the addresses of her venerable escort, galloped away, followed closely by the Bishop, who, however, finally lost his seat and was plunged up to the neck in a pool by the wayside. This was the "Cure for Love." What foundation there may have been for the story it is impossible at this day to tell, but if there were any, it must have made the Bishop reflect on his folly in appealing from Judge Croke's statute. If he had only been of opinion that none but the orthodox should be entitled to matriculation at Windsor, his equestrian performances and his matrimonial speculations would never have been embalmed in poetry. It is said that the lady could not have objected to the profession of her venerable wooer, though she might have thought him a little high, for she afterwards married a dignitary of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, who has enriched the literature of that country with some of the best and raciest anecdotes that have ever been collected by a clergyman. Copies of the "Inquisition" and the "Cure" are still extant in manuscript. Even at this distance of time, the allusions are sufficiently clear to account for the feelings which the publications excited.

It was in this state of affairs that Dr. Croke acceded to the administratorship of Nova Scotia. The Legislature was in session at the time. Sir George Prevost had opened it a few weeks before and had delivered the usual speech. There was no need of a second speech, but Dr. Croke thought differently. He summoned the House to the Council chamber, and delivered a speech, the contents of which we shall have occasion to note by-and-by. Meanwhile we may say that the session was approaching a close, when, on Monday, the 23rd January, the President came down to the Council chamber and summoned the House to attend. They went up with their bills, eight in number. Four were of an ordinary class; three were revenue bills, and one the appropriation bill of the year. The ordinary bills and the revenue bills are duly presented and assented to; nothing remains but the appropriation bill. This, by the usage of Parliament for centuries, the Speaker himself presents, accompanied by a little set speech as old as parliament itself. Mr. Wilkins, the Speaker, in the usual mode, steps forward with his bill, makes his little speech and awaits the answer. The reply in such cases is always in one form:—"His Majesty thanks his loyal subjects,

accepts their benevolence and assents to the Bill." What was the astonishment of the Assembly when Dr. Croke in his reply used the words, "I do not assent to this Bill." Nobody had ever before heard of the Crown asking for supplies and refusing them when granted. This act of the President is without a parallel in the history of parliamentary government. No formula exists for the rejection of an appropriation bill. The idea of the Crown refusing a grant of money for public purposes never could have entered into the head of anybody. When the royal veto is exercised on bills of another kind, it is done in the gentlest way. The Crown never *rejects* a bill; the formula, when the assent is withheld, is in the old Norman French, and dates from a time when that was the language of Parliament, "*Le Roi s'avisera*," "The King will take it into consideration." But here not only was a bill rejected of a kind that the Crown never rejects, but the dissent was given in an offensive form, which the Crown never uses.

The Assembly were aghast at the answer. They had not had the slightest suspicion of what was intended. The bill had been sent up to the President in due form; he had perused it and returned it to the Speaker without a word of objection. The House, when they went up, expected to be prorogued; this was not done. They returned to their chamber to consider the position. Mr. Robie immediately moved a resolution, which was adopted unanimously, appointing a committee of four to report to the House what was to be done. Next day, Tuesday, their report was laid on the table. It had no uncertain sound. The Act of the President is stigmatized as extraordinary and undignified, and an abuse of power in a person on whom a brief authority had devolved, which would have justified them in asking the Crown for his dismissal. This course, however, they say they will not recommend, because of the weighty concerns in which His Majesty was then engaged, but they advised the House to send their Resolutions to the Agent of the Province, to be submitted to His Majesty's Ministers, together with the journals containing a record of their proceedings. The report was unanimously adopted, and the Speaker empowered by resolution to publish it in the Royal Gazette and in any other newspaper he should see fit to send it to. After this the House met again on Wednesday, and sent word to the President that there was no business before them. On Thursday he came down to the Council chamber and sent for the

House ; they attended. The proceedings we quote from the printed journals :—

“ His Honor was pleased to make a speech, after which Mr. Speaker offered to address His Honor the President, but was prevented in a *turbulent and violent manner* by the Honorable Michael Wallace, acting President of His Majesty’s Council, who declared “ the House prorogued.”

The scene must have been comic enough, if distinguished by nothing more than “ *the turbulence and violence*” of the Honorable Michael Wallace, so gravely recorded in the journals ; but if the reports are to be believed the absurdity of it was still further heightened by an incident which took place at the time. By one of the curious chances which make real life often more wonderful than fiction, a comic actor of some eminence, Mr. Charles Stewart Powell, was then Seargeant-at-Arms to the Assembly, and was in attendance with them at the Council chamber. The scene altogether was so ludicrous that Powell, yielding to an irresistible impulse, struck a theatrical attitude and, in the presence of the three estates of the realm, and in the character of one of the witches in *Macbeth*, proclaimed at the top of his voice

“ When shall we three meet again,  
In thunder, lightning, or in rain ?”

Apart from the ridiculous character of the proceedings at the prorogation, the situation was unique. The people were taxed by the revenue bills ; the duties would be collected and paid into the treasury, but there the money must remain ; the bridges might fall, the roads get out of repair, the officials whose salaries were not provided for by permanent acts, or charged on the Crown revenues, must go unpaid, and, if the war should arise which the United States were threatening, how were the arms to be purchased which were required for the militia ? The people usually get back in expenditure for public works some portion of the taxes they pay, but here a stream was made to pour into the reservoir, but there was none to issue from it. The public had not even the satisfaction of knowing what their representatives had done. True, the Speaker had authority to print the resolutions, but authority was one thing, power another. He tried the Gazette office, the journal of John Howe and Son, but the

senior Howes were made of different stuff from the one who afterwards became so famous in Nova Scotia; they declined to print the resolutions. Other persons were applied to with a similar result; no printer had the ambition to become a martyr for his country's cause, and martyr he certainly would have been, if he had undertaken to put in print these resolutions, though they were those of one co-ordinate branch of the Legislature, and that the branch that represents the people, and though the resolutions were adopted by that branch without a dissenting voice. Can anything better mark the chasm which separates the ideas of 1808 from those of 1880? But if the Howes would not print the resolutions, they had not the same scruples about the speech which preceded Mr. Wallace's "turbulence and violence." That was given at great length; it fills over two entire columns of the Gazette. It is an elaborate vindication of the refusal of the President to assent to the Act. In substance the speech sets forth that the appropriation was unwise, injudicious and extravagant, and that the President himself could dispose of the money more beneficially and economically than the Legislature. This doctrine would seem absurd enough from the mouth of any man, but Dr. Croke's recent deliverances rendered it additionally absurd. When he made the volunteer speech, to which we have already alluded, in the middle of the session, upon his assumption of the Presidency, he referred to his "habitual attention to the transactions of nation, and to the British laws and constitution to which his professional studies had been habitually directed." He says, "this is one of the qualifications which fitted him for the position he filled," and modestly proceeds to add these words, "though I may have acquired some little knowledge and experience in the concerns of the country, during a considerable residence here, yet I would consider that *the surest grounds of information, and the safest rules for my governance* are to be derived from your advice and suggestions." In the reply of the Assembly, for which the President subsequently expresses his thanks, they say: "the thorough knowledge of the excellent constitution of your native country which Your Honor must have acquired, not only by extensive reading and study, but also by long observation of its practical operation, and your experience by many years residence in this Province, of the close analogy of the form of government established here, to that of the parent state, would ensure an able and impartial administra-



“tion of government to the satisfaction of the people of Nova Scotia.”

Dr. Croke's knowledge of constitutional law is exhibited in his rejection of bills passed not only by the Assembly, but by another body who were at once a branch of the Legislature and his own executive advisers. His respect for the advice and suggestions of the representatives of the people, which he had expressed so emphatically in his speech, is displayed in his declaration that they were unfit to be trusted with the distribution of their own moneys.

We find a further development of the learned judge's ideas of government in the letter which he addressed to Lord Castlereagh after the close of the session, detailing the events which had occurred and offering suggestions to the Colonial Secretary. He inveighs very strongly against the Assembly who, he says, are “a body suspicious of government, jealous of their rights, and strongly retentive of the public purse;” that they are a body “actuated by the *criminal purpose* of making itself *necessaay* to the *Government* for the payment of the interest and other necessary supplies;” so that, according to Dr. Croke's idea of Constitutional Law, those same principles which, in England, are the glory of the Commons, in Nova Scotia are the *crime* of the Assembly. From what school had Dr. Croke taken his constitutional law?

He, however, had a plan for improving things in the Province which he gravely proceeds to propound to the Colonial Minister. He says:—“While the Lower House was, as usual, principally composed of farmers who had a little leaven of democracy among them, there was another body, the Council, consisting principally of His Majesty's officers, always disposed to second the views of Government. Now if these officers could only be secured in the regular payment of their salaries, so that they would have no need of applying to the Assembly, the business of the Government could go on without difficulty” and the constitution be perfect. He, therefore, urges the Colonial Secretary to add £4000 to the parliamentary grant, and impose on the commerce of Nova Scotia additional taxes to recoup the amount. This sum, with what the crown already had of casual and territorial revenue, would pay every official, and the King's government could be conducted in comfort. Surely we need hardly go beyond Dr. Croke's despatch to be able to estimate the condition of Nova Scotia, politically, in 1808.

Such was the state of affairs when Sir George Prevost returned from Martinique and resumed the government. It would be outside the scope of our article to follow with any minuteness of detail the further history of the imbroglio about the Appropriation Bill. Suffice it to say that Sir George, immediately after his return, called the Legislature together; that they passed the same Appropriation Act as in the previous session, that it was assented to, and that in a few days the Assembly dispersed to their homes. Dr. Croke being relegated to the Bench, nothing further was heard of the notable expedient of imposing taxes by Act of the Imperial Parliament, so that the officials of the Province might snap their fingers in the faces of the Nova Scotia Assembly; nothing further of a system of taxation and appropriation by a parliament where the people were not represented, and taking it away from one in which they were.

Dr. Croke went on with his judicial duties and the Province flourished as if he had never existed. So, too, would Windsor College have flourished, if his position of Governor of that institution had been as temporary as the administratorship and his seat had been assumed by a successor with the ability to see, and the courage to adopt, such measures as were suitable to the circumstances of our country and people. With such an experience of Dr. Croke's management as an administrator, it is a matter of surprise that he was ever allowed to try his hand again in the same way. But these were troublesome times, and when the next Governor, Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, was next called away on military duty, Dr. Croke again became administrator. Fortunately for us his tenure of the office was short; more fortunately he held it while the Legislature was not in session, and when there was no opportunity to thwart them by experiments in the line of his extraordinary notions of constitutional law. He retired from the position without any addition to the laurels he had won on the former occasion.

There are several incidents in the career of Dr. Croke while resident in Nova Scotia which we have not thought it necessary to treat at length.

When Jordan, the pirate, was tried by a mixed commission, Croke claimed precedence on the Bench over the Chief Justice of the day. The crown officers were consulted; they decided against him; and thereupon he refused to sit in the court.

We have told of his administration of the government while Sir

George Prevost was away on service of the crown in Martinique. Dr. Croke demanded from the British Government one half the salary during this period, which was also denied him.

These claims indicate to some extent the character of the man, but they were either personal matters or of temporary interest only, and hardly deserve more than a reference like this.

Perhaps the same may not be said of a newspaper controversy which he conducted in the "Recorder" newspaper with the Rev. Dr. McCulloch on the subject of common school education. In this he propounded doctrines which might very naturally be expected from the author of the King's College Test Clauses. But he was met by an antagonist who was more than his match. Besides in this case he was merely a volunteer, expressing opinions which he had a perfect right to entertain and, if he chose, to publish. The writing of his letters did rather good than harm, for it was the means of placing both sides of the question before the tribunal of public opinion. Fortunately he was not in a position to put his ideas in the form of a statute, and so permanently injure the Common Schools, as he had the higher education of the Province.

It is only when we find him using his official position to do wrong and injustice to the bulk of the community in which he is temporarily resident, that we feel inclined to speak of his actions in the terms which we feel they deserve.

Dr. Croke continued in Nova Scotia till the year 1815. It need hardly be stated that when he returned to England he left behind him many enemies: it can hardly be said that he left a friend. But for the trouble he caused while administering the government, and for the disastrous effect of his test clauses in the higher education of the Province, Nova Scotia would be willing to forget that he had ever been here. Outside his judicial work he did nothing that was deserving of credit; some things that he did were fortunately undone afterwards, and so occasioned but little mischief; what he did that continued has done harm from that day to this.

We are not careful to follow with any particularity of detail the history of Dr. Croke after he left this Province. The battle of Waterloo led to a general peace all over the world, which was not disturbed till the commencement of the Crimean war, some forty years afterwards. There was no longer need for a Vice-Admiralty Prize Court at Halifax. Dr. Croke returned to England, spending

the rest of his life at Studley Priory, his family seat. On his return from Nova Scotia he was knighted by the Sovereign for his services, and allowed a pension of £1000 a year; we hope those rendered as administrator and as Governor of King's College were not reckoned of the number. The twenty-eight years that he lived after his return to England, he spent, as we learn from an obituary notice published at the time of his death, "in the society of his friends and " neighbors, and in the enjoyment of much literary leisure and other " rational recreations." The same writer characterizes him as a " conservative of the old school," in which those who are acquainted with his career in Nova Scotia will be inclined to concur. He published a pamphlet, when at the age of eighty, entitled "The Patriot Queen," in which he gave his ideas of constitutional law quite in accord with the doctrines propounded by him in Nova Scotia. The work breathes the spirit of the middle ages, and is in striking contrast with Sir Alexander's ancestor who defended Hampden. It is somewhat of an anachronism that this pamphlet should have been ushered into the world five years after the English Reform Bill of 1833 had become the law of the land.

Sir Alexander died at Studley Priory on the 27th December, 1843, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. Besides his literary fame, he had some reputation as an artist; he made sketches of Nova Scotian scenery while here which, at the time of his death, were hanging on the walls of the Priory. Some of the paintings were well spoken of by Mr. West, President of the Royal Academy. The estate of Studley Priory is now held by his son John, who, in 1871, was his fourth and only surviving son. He is a Nova Scotian by birth, and succeeded to the estate on the death of an elder brother in 1861.

## THE ACADIAN FRENCH.

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[An interesting paper could be prepared on the different attempts made in this Province to write its history previous to the publication of Haliburton's work in 1829. At least four attempts were made. The first by Judge Monk, the second by Dr. Andrew Brown, the third by —————, and the fourth by Rev. William Cochran. Some were completed, all of them were in an advanced state of preparation, but none of them got through the press.

The Rev. Andrew Brown, D.D., was Born in Biggar, in Lanarkshire, and graduated at the University of Edinburgh. In 1787 he accepted a call from St. Matthew's Church, in this city, and remained here up to 1795. After leaving Halifax he was presented to the parish of Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire, and soon after was translated to the New Greyfriars Church Edinburgh, from which he was promoted to the Old Church in the same city. In 1801 he succeeded Dr. Blair as professor of rhetoric and belle-letters. He died in 1834. He was a man of great intellectual vigor, and it is said of him while in Nova Scotia he outstripped all others in genius and acquirements.

While in the Province he must have given considerable time and labor to the preparation of a history—as his efforts cover a period between 1790 and 1815, and are quite extensive. All, or at least a part, of his papers were found in a small shop in Scotland, where they were used in wrapping up cheese and butter. They were purchased by an agent of the British Museum—a Mr. Grosart—for a small sum, and deposited in the National Collection in London. Some of them are originals belonging to the Province, and all are of value—as in most instances they were prepared by eye-witnesses and actors of the events they describe.

The transcripts were made by W. B. Tobin, Esq., of London, at the instance of the Nova Scotia Record Commission. Mr. Tobin's services, heretofore, have been very valuable, and no man is in a better position to serve the Province.]

HON. BROOK WATSON TO REV. DR. BROWN.

LONDON, 1st July, 1791.

REV. SIR,—

I have been favored with your letter bearing date ye 13th November last, wherein you inform me of your having been employed for some years in collecting materials for compiling a History of Nova Scotia, and that conceiving from my knowledge of the country which commenced at an early period of my life, and my connections with it continued up to the present time, I should be able to aid your en-

deavors; you express a desire to receive from me information respecting the most interesting events which have occurred to my observation. It is true, sir, that I knew the Province in the year 1750, and my connection with it has from that period been uninterruptedly continued up to the present day, but it must be remembered that my whole life has been spent in one continued scene of mercantile business, consequently I am but ill qualified to aid your labors. I will, nevertheless, evince my respect and regard to the recorders of truth for the benefit of mankind by giving you the best account in my power of those occurrences to which your letter seems more immediately to point.

In the sixteenth century Acadie, or Acady, was first settled by people from Normandy, they were placed under the Government of Canada, but so remote their situation from Quebec, little communication could be held with them; they were, therefore, suffered to possess this extensive and fertile country with little or no control; their chief settlements were made on the borders of navigable rivers emptying into the Bay of Fundy, where marsh, or interval, lands abounded, and which, when dyked to keep off the water occasioned by high tides, produced excellent pastures, and without manure abundance of fine grain and pulse; hence the country soon became plentifully stocked with neat cattle, horses, sheep, hogs, and poultry of all sorts; the people left to themselves, without burthens on their property, or restraints on their industry, increased rapidly, possessing the means essential to substantial happiness. Luxuries they did not covet, to ambition they were strangers; bigoted Catholics they were, no doubt, governed by their priests, but these were few in number and moderate in their views, till the year 1750, when one of their order, *Monsieur LaLoutre*, from Canada, laid the foundation for the miseries they experienced in 1755.

Acadie was ceded by England to France by the Treaty of Breda, in 1661, but afterwards taken by the English. It was acceded to them by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, under the express stipulation that the inhabitants might remain with their possessions subjects to the crown of Great Britain, with a right to the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome, and thenceforth they were called *Neutrals*. Their principal settlement was Annapolis Royal. Here the English built a fort and garrisoned it with English troops, changing the name of the Province from

Acadie to Nova Scotia; but they took no measures for settling it with other inhabitants till the year 1749, when Colonel Cornwallis was appointed its first Governor, and carried from England a number of people who he settled at Chebucto, which he named Halifax, after the noble Earl who was then First Lord for Trade and Plantations. France, seeing the steps taking by England in settling the country, and dreading the influence it would give us with the savages in the neighborhood of Canada, took every measure in their power to retard its progress. To this end they sent an officer with some troops from Quebec, in 1750, to encourage and support the Acadians and savages in impeding the English settlers. In this design they succeeded so well that in 1755 they became hardy enough openly to take part with the French in defending their garrison of Beausejour, which had been built in 1751 on a hill at the bottom of the Bay of Fundy, within three miles of Fort Lawrence, fortified by the English the preceding year. The former was taken the end of May or beginning of June, 1755, by four hundred British and two thousand Provincial troops, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Robert Monckton. The French garrison were allowed to go to Louisburg; the Acadians to their respective homes. But Admiral Boscawen, then commanding a considerable fleet at Halifax, with Colonel Lawrence, the Governor of the Province, soon after determined on sending all the Acadians out of the country, and sent orders to Lieut.-Colonel Monckton to embark them. He, in consequence, issued a proclamation commanding them all to appear at Beausejour (now Fort Cumberland) on a given day when, not suspecting the purpose, they were surrounded by troops and the men shut up in the fort, the women and children suffered to return home, there to remain till further notice should be given them. In the meantime transports were preparing to carry them out of the country. In September I was directed to proceed with a party of Provincials to the Baie Verte, then a considerable and flourishing settlement, there to wait further orders, which I received on the following day, to collect and send to Beausejour, for embarkation, all the women and children to be found in that district, and, on leaving the town, to fire it; this painful task performed, I was afterwards employed in victualling the transports for their reception; the season was now far advanced before the embarkation took place, which caused much hurry, and I fear some families were divided and sent to different parts of the globe.

notwithstanding all possible care was taken to prevent it. These wretched people, given up by France without their consent, were for adhering to those principles which the liberal mind must deem praiseworthy, plucked from their native soil, cast out by the nation who claimed their obedience, and rejected by that from whence they sprang, and to whose religion, customs and laws they had evinced the strongest attachment. Many of the transports having on board were ordered to France, about thirteen hundred perished by shipwreck on the voyage, those who arrived, France would not receive; they were landed at Southampton and other ports where, taking the small-pox, they were carried off in great numbers. Of those who went to the French West India Isles the greater part died for want of food, a famine at that time prevailed in the island, the people could not support them, the Governor-General said that they were not French subjects. Those who survived the calamity were sent to join their remaining brethren who had been sent to the British colonies from New England to Georgia; they were here more fortunate, for notwithstanding the rancor which generally prevailed against all Roman Catholics, their orderly conduct, their integrity, sobriety and frugality secured to them the good-will of the people and gained them comfortable support. But still longing for their native country, all their industry was stimulated, all their hopes supported by that landmark of their former felicity, many of them built boats, and taking their families, coasted the whole American shore, from Georgia to Nova Scotia; others dreading a tempestuous sea, went up the Mississippi and, crossing the lakes to Canada, descended the River St. Lawrence and so regained their former settlements. But alas! what did they find? all was desolated for the more effectually to drive them out of the country, all their houses had been burnt, all their cattle killed by order of Government, hence they found no shelter, still they persevered with never-failing fortitude, with unremitting industry, and established themselves in different remote parts of the Province, where they had been *suffered* to remain, but without any legal property, at least I have not heard of any land having been granted to them; their numbers, I am told, have increased about two thousand, and am informed they still continue, what I know them to be in their prosperous state, an honest, sober, industrious, and virtuous people; seldom did any quarrels happen amongst them. The men were in the summer constantly



employed in husbandry, in the winter in cutting timber—fuel and fencing—and in hunting; the women in carding, spinning and weaving wool, flax and hemp, of which this country furnished abundance; these with furs from bears, beaver, foxes, otter, and martin, gave them not only comfortable, but in many instances, handsome clothing, and wherewith to procure other necessaries and conveniences from the English and French who carried on a trade of barter with them; few houses were to be found that had not a hogshead of French wine on tap, they had no dye but black and green, but in order to obtain scarlet—of which they were remarkably fond—they procured the English scarlet duffil which they cut, teized, carded, spun, and wove in stripes to decorate the womens' garments. Their country abounded with provisions, that I have heard people say they bought an ox for fifty shillings, a sheep for five, and wheat for eighteen pence per bushel. Their young people were not encouraged to marry till the maid could weave a web of cloth, the youth make a pair of wheels; their qualifications were deemed essential to their well doing and little more was necessary, for whenever a marriage took place the whole village set about establishing the young couple, they built them a log house, and cleared land sufficient for their immediate support, supplied them with some cattle, hogs, and poultry, and nature, aided by their own industry, soon enabled them to assist others. Infidelity to the marriage bed I never heard of amongst them. The winters long and cold were spent in cheerful hospitality, having fuel in abundance their houses was always comfortable, the rustic song and dance made their principal amusement. Thus did they live, so have they been visited. In 1755 I was a very humble instrument in sending eighteen hundred of those suffering mortals out of the Province. In 1783, as Commissary General to the army serving in North America, it became my duty, under the command of Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, to embark thirty-five thousand loyalists at New York to take shelter in it, and I trust all in my power was done to soften the affliction of the Acadians and alleviate the sufferings of the loyalists who were so severely treated for endeavoring to support the union of the British empire; they have great reason to bless the considerate mind and feeling heart of Lord Dorchester, under whose directions and providential care, ever awake to their wants, I had the pleasing task of liberally providing for them everything necessary to their transportation and settlement

with provisions for one year after their arrival, and this allowance was still longer continued to them by the Public ——— to the eternal honor of the nation will be the record of their having considered the particular case of every individual who claims to have suffered by their loyalty, and after a ruinous war which added one hundred and twenty millions to the public debt, granted compensation for their losses and relief for their sufferings to the amount of between three or four millions, besides annuities amounting to sixty thousand pounds a year.

You will perceive I have not noticed the division of the Province, which took place in 1784 or 5, when the line was drawn from Cumberland to the Baie Verte, leaving the former and all to the north of it in the newly erected Province of New Brunswick, on which lands the loyalists had generally settled.

If aught which I have communicated may in any degree prove useful to your work my feelings will be gratified. I give you thanks for having recalled to my mind transactions which were nearly obliterated, but being awakened, may be the means of producing some good to the poor Acadians who still remain in the Provinces, and they may have cause to bless you for recording their sufferings.

I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

BROOK WATSON.

REV. MR. BROWN,  
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

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LONDON, 12th August, 1791.

REVD. SIR,—

Under date ye 1st July I had the pleasure of writing you a pretty long letter in reply to one I had received from you, dated ye 13th November, preceding. I do not trouble you with a duplicate, although for fear of miscarriage I had a copy of my letter taken. Yesterday Dr. Breynton dined with me, when in order to avail myself of his better knowledge, and with a view to correct aught which I might therein have improperly stated, I read the letter to him. He perfectly agreed to all the facts which I had written, but thought the Acadians, in the year 1755, had their option to take the

oaths of allegiance and remain, or to be sent out of the country. This point is of moment and ought to be ascertained. I much fear that was not the case, for although I entertain a very high opinion of their firmness, yet I doubt whether a people ever existed who possessed, *to a man*, spirit enough to leave everything dear and plunge themselves and families into a state of inexpressible wretchedness, rather than swear allegiance to a Prince, who held them and their country most completely in his power.

Mr. Secretary Bulkeley, who was the Secretary to the Province, and I think acting secretary to Governor Lawrence, can best inform you on this head, as he has never quitted the Province, and is in possession of the public papers to which reference may be had.

I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

BROOK WATSON.

REV. MR. BROWN,  
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

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REV. HUGH GRAHAM TO REV. DR. BROWN.

CORNWALLIS, March, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

The repeated proofs of your friendly attention arose in me the glow of gratitude and the blush of shame. Your indulgent approbation of my slender services should, surely before this, have awakened me to the renewed calls of duty and have exerted me to much more vigorous exertions of friendship, and yet I had but just taken the pen in my hand when I laid it down and that to receive your favor of March 7th, an additional proof of my friends steady and much valued attachment.

The first particular in my engagement to which I now recur, shall be a detail of some minutes, and yet not altogether such, in the history of the Hon. Brook Watson, Esq.

He is a native of London. His father was a very considerable merchant in the Hamburg trade. During a certain period of his life he was in very flourishing circumstances; but a few years before his death a reverse of fortune took place. It was in early life, and in adverse circumstances, that Watson lost both his parents by the untimely stroke of death. He was left an orphan at the age of 8 or

10 years. It was thought advisable by his friends, of whom he had but few, to have him placed under the patronage and employed in the service of a Mr. Levens, a distant relation of his own, formerly of Hull, then of Boston. With this view he was sent out to Mr. Levens, and as Levens traded very extensively at sea, Watson set out as a young adventurer a board a ship in which his friend was chiefly concerned, and it was while this ship lay in Havana harbor that the accident of the shark happened—that as it was an excellent subject for a painting has had great justice done it in the masterly performances of Copely—in consequence of which accident he was taken into the Havana hospital and treated by the Spaniards with the greatest humanity, and after a cure was effected he found means of returning to Boston. But in his absence his friend Levens had failed in trade and left the place; this, you will easily conceive, was not small disappointment to him (young Watson) whose whole dependence here was on his friend now gone. Think now on the mortifying blank of disappointment and the dreary scene of indigence disclosing upon him when he expected the open hand of liberality and the tender consolations of friendship, and how all that fancy had framed out, and that the heart panted for, vanished like the baseless fabric of a night vision, and all the fortitude of his little breast was put to the trial by the unhappy manner in which this fresh misfortune was communicated to him. He scarcely had got into the house where Mr. Levens had formerly resided (a house of entertainment) when the mistress of the house broke out full well and in the most inconsiderate and unfeeling manner ran over the history of Mr. Levens' failure and misfortunes—"La Brook," exclaimed the oddity, "is this you, with a wooden leg, too? Your friend Levens has been  
"so unlucky, has done so-and-so and now he is gone the Lord knows  
"where. But there is nothing for you here; I can see nothing for  
"you but to have you bound out to be a saylor. I believe I shall  
"send inmediately for the select men and was all with them in the  
"business." "The Lord help me," says poor Brook, "for I wish  
"the shark had finished the business he began." The woman talked with such vociferation as to arrest the attention and awaken the curiosity of a gentleman in an adjacent room. He left his room and led the violent talking noise, he stepped into a scene where distress was bearing the lash of insensibility. Here stood young Watson agitated in the very crisis of his eventful fortune, standing

in the middle of the room was the first object that caught Capt. Huston's eye—for that was the gentleman's name—and the old woman was in such a hurry to salute him with the tale of wo, and to pour in upon him the first tide of misfortunes, that she had neither asked nor given him time to sit down. She was just about making a cessation in the thundering lecture of evils, and meant to wind up the whole by depriving the youth of his liberty and to subject him, without his consent, to the lowest of occupations, when Mr. Huston interfered and made some little enquiry into the case—"at leisure," said the worthy gentleman, "don't be in such a furious haste, give " the young man time to draw his breath, and please let me know " something of his circumstances"; upon which the old woman told him "this was a nephew or relation of that bankrupt Levens," and meant to resume the whole history of Levens' misfortunes, but Mr. Huston interrupted her and desired her to say no more on that subject, but to pay the youth every possible attention and he would satisfy her before he left the town. In the course of a few days Capt. Huston accomplished his business, and leaving Boston took Watson along with him. He was on his way to this Province, and Watson lived with him rather as a son in the family than as a servant of the house. For he soon found that he had in him much of the great and good, honest and honorable, ever attentive and obliging, apt to learn and to improve, he conceived, therefore, a particular regard for the boy. It was in the year 1750 that Huston, where he tarried, one season ———— and after a trip to Boston, on business, he accompanied Col. Lawrence, afterwards Gov. Lawrence, on an expedition to Cumberland.

The detachment of troops sent on this expedition consisted of about 400, including officers and attendants. The design of this measure was to keep in awe the neutral French, to secure the British frontiers, and to keep an outlook on the Canadians who practised on the neutrals, and the design in so far accomplished; the French troops were dispersed, Fort Lawrence was built. For some time, however, the French held a place of considerable strength called by them Beausejour, but by the English Fort Cumberland. It is about three miles to the westward of Fort Lawrence, with the River Missaquash (Migagousck) running between them. The enemy, for so they might now be called, after a feeble resistance, gave up Beausejour. This took place in the beginning of these troubles which brought on the

late French war. At this time Messrs. Huston and Winslow, a very worthy gentleman, too, now Paymaster General of the troops at Quebec, carried on Commissary trade. This Mr. Winslow being a most complete accomptant, more so than Mr. Huston, in his goodness reckons himself; from him Watson acquired much of his knowledge in business. He was honored with a very particular degree of attention from Major Monckton, who then commanded at Fort Cumberland. The Major would frequently have Watson with him, employ him in adjusting the books, and in transacting his business; this was also a means of improvement, and Watson was apt to learn and much susceptible of improvement, availed himself of every help and privilege that a good Providence afforded. Here, it is true, the range of observation was confined, and the objects scanty and inconsiderable, the flowers of life he passed away in a shade, but it was a friendly shade. Here the healthy plant took deep root and imb'd nothing but what tended to its nourishment, and not a little of this was supplied and improv'd. For here he had the company and example of men of sense and honor, virtue and religion, so that whatever secondary and adventitious help might be awaiting, yet he had the necessary and best help for laying a good foundation, and was in a situation far from being unfavorable while the character is a forming. In this situation he continued 11 or 12 years.

It is an observation made by Plutarch—that as the small features about the eyes are the most expressive and do most to distinguish the complexion of the individual, so the little incidents of life are of great account in making up a judgment of a person's real character. In great actions persons may out-do themselves, but in little actions they act themselves. With this observation I shall introduce an instance or two of the manliness and capacity of young Watson:—

Some time after the English forces had taken possession of Fort Cumberland and the French had retreated to the west side of the river, a number of English cattle had one day cross'd the river at low water and strolled on the French side. This, not observed on the English side till after the tide had begun to make, and then it was much queried if it might be practicable to bring them back. None was forward to make the attempt, only Watson said he should go for one, and, indeed, they all stood back and let him go alone. He stripped, swam over the river-side and all got round the cattle

and was driving them towards the river when a party of the French were at his heels. One of them called out, "Young man, what have you to do upon the King of France's land?" To which Watson replied that "his present concern was neither with the King of France, nor about his land, but he meant take care of the English cattle." The French officer who headed the party diverted with the oddity of the sight, and pleased with the manliness of the reply, ordered his men to stop and to give him no further molestation in taking away the cattle. This little feat of Watson was talked of with a good deal of pleasantry on both sides, and gained him not a little credit.

To this I shall add an instance of his address and presence of mind.

One day 3 or 4 French people came into Mr. Huston's store, and while they were looking at this and that, asking the prices sometimes, buying, and sometimes not, and chattering away. One of them, pretty light-fingered, slipped 2 (two) silk handkerchiefs into her pocket, unnoticed as she expected; it did not, however escape Watson's eagle eye. In the meantime he said nothing. But when the bills were drawn he very justly charged the silk handkerchiefs to the account of the possessor. The bill is presented to her and read. She objects. "Non handkerchiefs, monsieur." "O yes, surely." "Non, non" Meanwhile Watson skips about and, observing the corner of one out of her pocket, whirls it out. "Why, ma'am, here is the handkerchief." "O, monsieur, me forgot." Thus while Watson made the best of the little fraud, the culprit's companions did tease her at no allowance, "certe satis—"

When he was of an age to act for himself he entered into trade and became a co-partner with a Mr. Slater, then of Halifax. After this he tarried only about 2 years in this Province, most of which time he resided at Cumberland, trading there, while Slater did the business in Halifax, and now it was that he returned to England, where a prospect soon opened upon him much diff— from that which had urged his departure. A person of the name of Manger or May—then lately returned from Halifax, a gentleman of great property, advanced for him a considerable sum and procured for him a partnership in that mercantile house at the head of which he now presides, and another who holds a place in the Queen's household has been of considerable service towards his promotion. But his own growing capacity has rendered him equal to the duties of every

office to which he has been appointed, and enabled him to fill with respectability every place which had been allotted him. And yet as such an elevation in the scale of society and that once again from the hated brink of desperation is rather a singular event much surely is here to be attributed to the hand of Providence, under the management of a wise and over-ruling Providence, what turnings and windings and merging prospects there are in the maze of life, and the lives of some are much more diversified than the lives of others. Few, perhaps, have seen greater changes or more sudden transitions in life than Brook Watson; who among men could have predicted that he who, at one time was almost entomb'd in the bowels of a shark and buried in the depths of the sea, and escaped but with the loss of a hinder quarter should, in a future day, be an alderman of the city of London, that he who was admitted as an object of charity, or forlorn child of wretchedness, into the Havana hospital, and when cured was set adrift to seek his fortune in the wide world, guided only by a faint ray of hope to Boston and that also soon extinguished, should at length step from the cloud and take his seat in the British Parliament as the Representative of that little world, the metropolis of Great Britain, and should at pleasure command the attention and applause of that august senate. In this instance, I presume, we may apply the words of the prophet without exposing ourselves to the imputation or enthusiasm, or the dangers of misapplication, viz:— This who cometh from the Son, who is excellent in Council, and wonderful in working. “For as the Heavens are high above the Earth so are God’s thoughts high above our thoughts, and His ways high above our ways.”

I understand that you purpose visiting Cumberland this summer, the scene of Watson’s youthful years—for he was only between 10 and 12 years of age when he came under Capt. Huston’s patronage and lived just about so many in his family. As I have a transient view of that part of the Province, I shall take the liberty of just mentioning a few objects that will naturally engage your attention, excite your enquiries, and more especially as you asked some time ago the notice of my Cumberland tour.

After leaving Partridge Island 17 miles in the rear, for I presume you will travel by land, you will mount what is properly called the “Boar’s Back,” a narrow ridge of land 7 miles in length, and in a few places more than 20 rods in breadth. It stands between a con-



tinued narrow swamp on the south-west side, and between swamps, lakes and a river on the north-east side. It is of no great height. It seems to be an entire bed of gravel, and serves as an excellent road. In this instance, as in many others, the hand of nature hath saved man a hard task. Quitting the Boar's Back you will soon reach the head of the river of Herbert Bear. This takes its rise in the lakes on the north-east side of the Boar's Back. It begins to flow by the upper hump and runs about due west. The tide also makes up to the head of the river, so that the Boar may alternately drink salt water and fresh in the course of every day; a branch of this river called "Napana" was the scene of one of those barbarous outrages which created a distant likeness between "Scotia junior and Scotia senior." A party of rangers of a regiment chiefly employed in scouring the country of the deluded French who had unfortunately fallen under the bann of British policy, came upon 4 Frenchmen who had all possible caution, ventured out from their skulking retreats to pick some of the straggling cattle or hidden treasure. The solitary few, the pitiable four, had just sat down weary and faint on the banks of the desert stream in order to refresh themselves with some food and rest, when the party of Rangers surprised and apprehended them, and as there was a bounty on Indian scalps, a blot, too, on England's escutcheon, the soldiers soon made the supplicating signal, the officer's turned their backs, and the French were instantly shot and scalped. A party of the Rangers brought in one day 25 scalps, pretending that they were Indian's, and the commanding officer at the fort, then Col. Wilmot, afterwards Governor Wilmot (a poor tool) gave orders that the bounty should be paid them. Capt. Huston who had at that time the charge of the military chest, objected such proceedings both in the letter and spirit of them. The Colonel told him, that according to law the French were all out of the French; that the bounty on Indian scalps was according to "Law, and that tho' the Law might in some instances be strained a little, yet there was a necessity for winking at such things." Upon account Huston, in obedience to orders, paid down £250, telling them that the "curse of God should ever attend such guilty deeds." A considerable large body of the French were one time surprised by a party of the Rangers on Peticodiac River; upon the first alarm most of them threw themselves into the river and swam across, and by ways the greater part of them made

out to elude the clutches of these bloody hounds, tho' some of them were shot by the merciless soldiery in the river. It was observed that these Rangers, almost without exception, closed their days in wretchedness, and particularly a Capt. Panks, who even rode to the extreme of his commission in every barbarous proceeding. In the Cumberland insurrection (late war) he was suspected of being "Jack on both sides of the bush"; left that place, Cumberland, in a small jigger bound for Windsor, was taken ill on the passage, thrown down into the hold among the ballast, was taken out at Windsor, is half dead, and had little better than the burial of a dog. He lived under a general dislike and died without any to regret his death. Excuse this digression. My zeal to be of some service to you makes me write several things which, upon reflection, I am apt to think can be of little or no service. At the head of Bear River you will find one solitary house of entertainment. It may afford some pleasure after you have rode 8 miles without having seen the habitation of man, and when you take into the view that you must ride 10 miles before you come to another. Here you ride along a continued strait of marsh land, about a mile beyond the first house you now pass, occupied by a Lieut. McKecachran, from Isla, lives, Mr. Glenie, brother to Capt. Glenie, late of the artillery department. The captain studied divinity in Edinburgh Hall, and is said to be a gentleman of very shining abilities. Perhaps you know the character. At the rate £1500 he bought that large tract of land lying in 12 miles square on both sides of Bear River, and extending from the head of ye river to the foregoing place. His brother has the charge and management of his improvements. You will find him a sensible, frank, and open-hearted farmer, who will be exceedingly glad to entertain you at his house, and will make you very happy. Below his house, more than a mile, there is a French settlement called Men en die (Meneudie). In this village there is between 20 and 30 houses and a chapel. There you will find a fragment of the stile and manners of other times, after this you will cross the river in a log canoe, or rather in Glenie's boat, upon which you enter the township of Amherst. The 2nd house on your way is occupied by one emphatically called *Forrest, the rich man*. It will not be amiss to give him a call. He is a curiosity. He is the unpolished rustic; has, however, a large share of natural sense blended with a very gross vein of drollery. He is one of a small congrega-

tion of Irish Pbn. who will gladly and gratefully attend on your salutary instructions on the sacred day when the call is "Let us go up to the House of the Lord." There is among them a Mr. McGowan, an elder, a worthy and agreeable man. They have built a decent little meeting-house, have made several attempts to get a minister, and after repeated disappointments, it is said one will be sent them from Scotland this summer—one of Mr. McGregor's class. But if he does come I fear it will be too late to do much good, or to live with any manner of comfort in that place. There are not now above a dozen of professed Pbn. families in the whole settlement. After leaving Amherst the remains of Fort Lawrence by the roadside will attract your attention for a short space. From that you will pass on to Fort Cumberland. There you will meet with a friendly welcome from Mr. William Allan.

In your tour thro' this part of the country, the relative situation of the 3 Provinces will engage your particular attention. Take the following hints:—Between the heads of Cumberland Bay and Bay de Verte, the distance is near 8 miles, the course direct and the surface level. But it is only 2 miles and a half between a branch of Vert Bay and the River Missiquash, and the intervening space one continual swamp. This neck is about 5 or 6 miles to the north-east of Fort Cumberland, and is particularly to be noted that there is 4 hours of difference between the time of the tide in Cumberland Bay and Vert Bay. The tide has begun to flow and rise 4 hours in the former before it turns in the latter. Query—Might not a canal be opened thro' that neck of land? In Cumberland Bay, it is true, tide rises to an amazing height, as much as 60 feet, and in Vert Bay not more than 6 feet. But perhaps the difference in the time of tides may serve to balance this disproportion, and it is possible that the height of tide on this side might thus be reduced without occasioning any material inconvenience on ye other.

As to the religious opinions and professions of the inhabitants I shall only observe, in general, that a few, and but a very few, belong to the Established Church, a few, but I believe more than the former, are Pbn. Dissenters. The Methodists bear the sway—most all of them Yorkshire—in general, they are an ignorant, vulgar race, and then the means and opportunities of information are very unfavorable. Those of the original settlers from N. England, who remain, have chiefly become New Lights. Without prejudice it

may be said of both sectaries that, being unenlightened by knowledge and misled by delusion, animated by party spirit, and carried away by a religious-like zeal, they seem to vie with each other in the wildness and absurdity of their opinions and practices, and they seem to breathe fire and vengeance against each other and against everybody else. "Let us turn our eyes" from these wandering stars and quit these fire brands of contention to look after the harmless and useful inhabitants of the great deep, which do mankind much good and no evil. In this heterogeneous piece I shall tack a short account of the average amount of the shad taken in Cornwallis yearly :

*Amount of Shad caught in Habitants River :*

Year.	Amount.
1789	120,000
1790	70,000

N. B.—I have fished on them.

2 years with a seine in Hab. River, yearly average, 95,000. Began to fish Canard River in the year 1787, caught in

1787	upwards of	100,000
1788	"	100,000
1789	about	70,000
1790	"	70,000

Canard River yearly average,	85,000
Yearly average of ye Creeks taken by wires	25,000
Was planted in Cornwallis River 90 a seine, but did not succeed well. Caught about	15,000

This one is not likely to succeed, as the force of the current is too great for the seine. But on a moderate calculation there is upwards of 200,000

150 ordinary shad fill a barrel, not salted, 15 shillings; salted, £1 5 shillings.

The codfishery might also be much more productive could it be more attended to. For tho' the settlers all alongshore, from the mouth to the head of the Bay, go out to fish by times, yet few make a business of it. They have got their farms to attend to. I could not possibly give a guess at the amount of the codfishery in the Bay; and I don't know that any individual here can. The cod suit exceedingly for export, but the shad don't; most of the shad, therefore, are consumed at home, and a great benefit they are; new settlers and

the poor, especially which class are numerous. By my next or by the time you are here we shall have a calculation of the average amount of gaspereaux ; tho' that is more difficult to find out, as they are fished, not by company's, but every one for his own hand. In my next I expect to trace the footsteps of spring, the Queen of Flowers and Lady and Mistress of the Song. I am still in your debt ; I beg you will not retaliate. Tho' two for one gives me some pain yet the pleasure exceeds the pain—much so selfish a mortal himself. But I shall now wind off with a few queries. Can you tell me what month, not the very week, I may expect you here ? I shall be glad to know a month or two before, that I may not be out of the way. Whether do you propose coming here or going to Cumberland first ? I am exceedingly happy that it will be so convenient for you to leave home this summer. I shall expect two weeks of your company ; that you proposed one and not two, I charge upon your memory and not your heart. But I can help your memory ; of the yearly visits we had none last summer. It would be of real service to you to tarry, were it a month, in the country. By this means you would see the state of things with your own eyes. How do you come on with the representation of the state of the Dissn. interest in Novr Scotia ? I should also be glad to know a little more than I do of the state fund for the aid of the Dissn. clergy, not that I mean to be over curious, nor to beg too soon. What I told of my situation in my last, I disclosed entirely in the confidence of friendship, and I beg, if you value the peace of my mind in the least, it may not transpire. Things have not been in the best state, but I have a rational prospect this will change to the better. I am contented and easy, and I don't believe now but as *it* is best for me, in a state of trial and discipline, if I had not just the greatest confidence in your friendship and prudence, I should not have made so free as there was no necessity in the case, nor do I regret that I did. For I rely on my friend's right to know my real situation. By and by the formalists of writing things either delicate will give place to the easiness of taking it in and over. A word is enough to the wise.

With every sentiment of

Esteem and wish of Friendship,

I am, R. D. B., yours irrevocably,

HUGH GRAHAM.

This has been on the stocks these two weeks, waiting a launching. I had an eye to the hand it comes by.  
For the REV. DR. ANDREW BROWN, Halifax.

Honored by MR. M. COGSWELL.

$\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 o'clock, taken up at Gallagher's and forwarded by

Revd. sir,

Your very obed't. servant.

REV. HUGH GRAHAM TO REV. DR. BROWN.

CORNWALLIS, Sept. 9th, 1791.

REV. DR. BROWN,

*My Dear Sir,*

Your friendly and farewell epistle was duly received. I had only heard the concerning notice of your sickness a few days before it came to hand. I was, therefore, in weekly expectation of seeing you here from the end of July till, I may say, the end of August; owing to this I deferred writing. I pleased myself with the hopes of having the honor of leading you to the fountain head of my intelligence respecting Acadian affairs, I still owe you something on this score. However much I owe, it is little that I can pay, and I really think that I can produce nothing that is new or of any great consequence. In general, I may say, as you already know, that the French Acadians lived in the dift. settlements like so many great families, "happily united in their views and interests." If a young couple married—conarried off, a New England man would say—scarcely any separation took place between the parent stock and the branches. Now this voluntary marriage union of the branches was not supposed to interfere with nor to break off the original and natural connexion between the parent stock and both branches. In this mode of life the two branches of connexion naturally braced and strengthened each other. Accordingly upon the occasion of a marriage settlement of a young couple not only the immediate parents, but the whole community, contributed in various proportion as the ability of the donors could, and as the exigencies of the case required. By this means the young people were in this very first outset in life placed in a state of independence, with all the satisfaction and ease which arise from a competency already possessed; they must have labored

afterwards and taken proper methods to increase their fortunes, more with the generous views of being able to help others in their turn, than with the covetous wish of amassing riches—the charms of riches had not the same effect upon them as upon others. With an abundance of the necessaries, they were strangers to the luxuries of life. Their wants and other wishes were few, and their deficiencies and disputes were still fewer. They had no courts of law—because they had no need of them. If any difference arose it was soon allayed and settled by the interference and counsel of two or three of the most judicious and best respected in the neighborhood. But whosoever mediated the peace the priests superadded their influence to confirm it. This was sound policy and good conduct, without exposing themselves to the suspicions and jealousies which are ever incurred less or more by arbitrators, they enjoyed this unalloyed satisfaction of peace-makers. In all their public works every one did as much as he could—as in building abattiaux, and dykes, in erecting chapels, and in enclosing burying grounds, and the like. The interest of the community had ever its due preponderancy over the interest of the individual. This obtained not only among acquaintances in the same neighborhood, and in the same settlement, but extended to the slightest acquaintance and the remotest situation. It was not affected nor lessened by the slightness of acquaintance or remoteness of situation. If, for instance, an abbitaux had given way, or a dyke had been broken at Cumberland, upon such an emergency as many hands were sent from Cornwallis as could be spared with any degree of conveniency. Simplicity and friendliness were very prominent features in their character.

In all this I am convinced that I have said nothing really new. But it eases my conscience a little to have done something towards discharging my duty to you. It might have been better to have talked over these matters with some of the antients here who knew the place when occupied by the French—a variety of things are brought out in the course of a free conversation which one would scarcely think of committing to paper, and yet necessary in order to a thoro' knowledge of the subject. But I am satisfied that by this time you are not wanting in this respect.

I congratulate you upon the restoration to health, enhanc'd in its value by the spiritual gains, and heightened in its relish by the salutary bitters of sickness, and I pray for the continuation of your

life—and us if all not usefulness—the very life of life itself. It is with great regret that I must deny myself the happiness of visiting you in Halifax before you leave it; as the case is circumstanc'd it is unhappily out of my power. I mov'd into my own house but a few days ago, and am only getting things put to rights, at the same time I am beginning to prepare for the administration of the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, which was intimated last Sabbath (prior to the reception of your letter) and is to take place on the 1st Sabbath of October. I expect Messrs. Cook and Munro between this and then. I can, therefore, bid you in the way—farewell.

I take exceedingly kind of your offer of service which will be accompanied with a small packet of which you will take the charge—is with,—and if anything can be done at home for the support and furtherance of the Pbn. interest in N. Scotia, I expect you will avail yourself of every opportunity which Providence may grant, and by every means which Providence may dictate. And now may the Lord who sitteth on the Flood grant you a safe and comfortable conveyance to Brittain's blissful hospitable shore, crown with success your designs, and after many happy meetings with your friends in old Scotland, may you be restored to the longing wishes of your friends in new Scotland, you carry my grateful respects and best wishes to all inquiring friends. I must repeat it tho' it is painful in the repetition—"Vale longum vale eterumque vale." May the Eternal God be thy refuge and continueth thee the everlasting arms. May the grace of Jehovah Jesus be the source of your highest improvement, and the blessing of the Eternal the spring of your sweetest enjoyments. All at present from your constant friend and affectionate brother.

HUGH GRAHAM.

REV. DR. ANDREW BROWN, Halifax.

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A REMARKABLE CIRCUMSTANCE RESPECTING THE FRENCH NEUTRALS, OF  
THE ISLAND OF ST. JOHN, RELATED BY CAPT. PILE, OF THE  
SHIP "ACHILLES."

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A Capt. Nichols, commanding a transport belonging to Yarmouth, was employed by ye Government of Nova Scotia to remove from the



Island of St. John about 300 French neutrals with their families. He represented to the agent before he sailed the situation of his vessel, and the impossibility there was of his arriving safe in Old France at that season of the year.

He was nevertheless compelled to receive them on board and proceeded upon the voyage. After getting within 100 leagues of Scilly, found the ship so leaking that, with all hands employed, they were not able to prevent her sinking. Finding that she must in a few minutes go down, and that all on board must perish if the French did not consent to the master and crew taking to the boats, by which means a small number had a chance of being saved.

Capt. Nichols sent for their priest and told him the situation, and pointed out to him the only probable means of saving the lives of a few, among which the priest was one.

He accordingly harangued the Frenchmen for half an hour on the ships deck, and gave them absolution, when they, with one consent, agreed to the master, crew, and priest taking the boats, and themselves to perish with the ship. One Frenchman only went into the boat, on which his wife said "will you thus leave your wife and children to perish without you." Remorse touched him, and he returned to share their fate. The ship in a few minutes went down, and all on board perished.

The argument made use of by the priest for leaving the Frenchmen was that he hoped to save the souls of other heretics (meaning the English) and bring them to God along with him. The boats, after a series of distress, arrived at a port in the west of England, and Capt. Nichols afterwards commanded one of the Falmouth packets.

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VINDICATION BY SECRETARY BULKELEY AND JUDGE DESCHAMPS OF  
THE ACADIAN REMOVAL.

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¶ On every appearance of a public discussion of the events of the war of 1756—so far as related to the Province of Nova Scotia—the old servants of the government manifested their apprehensions and disquietude, and particularly when the case of the Acadians was mentioned.

When the translation of Raynal's history first arrived in the Province, the article Nova Scotia was inserted entire in one of the newspapers, for the informa-

tion and entertainment of the inhabitants. An alarm was taken by Mr. Bulkeley and Judge Deschamps; the publication was considered a personal injury, and an answer or refutation was immediately agreed upon between them. It was given with great ostentation in some of the following newspapers, which were put into my hands by the Judge, as a complete and satisfactory vindication of that measure.

When Messrs. Cochran and Howe began their magazine, in 1789,—not aware of the soreness of these people on the subject—they re-published the offensive piece. Mr. Bulkeley and Judge Deschamps complained and were as displeased as if it had been a personal attack. An answer, as formerly, was resolved upon. At that time I had the foresaid above mentioned newspapers; and one morning, long before 7 o'clock, I was roused by a servant with a card from Judge Deschamps, requesting, in a very urgent manner, that I would deliver to him the papers and all other documents he had given me relative to the subject.

By the aid of these the following paper was drawn up, which, as I understood, was sent to the printing office in the handwriting of Mr. Bulkeley. As it was not Mr. Cochran's wish to create any enemies (and indeed his situation at the time would not admit of it), he prefaced Mr. Bulkeley's paper with the softening paragraph enclosed in the parenthesis—and without having traced the evidence, intimated a suspicion of Raynal's fidelity. Tho' I can take upon me—from a painful examination of the whole matter—to assert that Raynal neither knew nor suspected the tenth part of the distress of the Acadians. And that, excepting the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, I know of no act equally reprehensible as the Acadian removal, that can be laid to the charge of the French nation. In their colonies nothing was ever done that approaches it in cruelty and atrociousness.

A. B.]

—————, Saturday, Aug. 18th, 1791.

The case of the Acadians stated.

(In our magazine for February last we inserted that part of the Abbe Raynal's history of the settlement in the East and West Indies—which relates to Nova Scotia. That author was certainly fonder of indulging a very happy and vigorous imagination than of searching with patience after the truth. This has led him to give a high and poetical coloring to every event that could interest the passions. Among many others of this sort, we apprehend, his fidelity may be somewhat questioned, in the account he has given of the removal of the French Neutrals, as they were called, from the Province. We, therefore, readily admit the following statement of the transaction, which we have received without any signature:—

W. C.)

In 1713 Nova Scotia was solemnly ceded to the crown of Great Britain by France, together with the inhabitants, reserving the liberty to those who chose it, of removing with their effects, provid-

ed such removal took place within 12 months ; otherwise to remain the subjects of Great Britain. In 1720 General Philips was appointed Governor ; and the inhabitants having remained beyond the limited time, were called on to take the oath of allegiance : many scrupled this, and declared they would not take arms against the French. It is said that many who at last took the oath of allegiance did it under a promise that provided they behaved peaceably, they should not be required to bear arms against the French, but of this assertion there is no proof—nor could any Governor assume to himself such a dispensing power : however from this, they were usually stiled French neutrals, and so called themselves. In the meantime they enjoyed the free exercises of their religion ; they had priests in every district, and were suffered to govern themselves by their own usages and customs.

In the French war of 1744 they joined the Indians in the attacks made against the inhabitants and garrison of Annapolis Royal, and supplied the Indians with provisions : to this purpose they were instigated, in some measure, by the Governor and the Bishop of Quebec and their priests, who were indefatigable in poisoning their minds with disaffection and enmity to the English.

When the settlement was made at Halifax, in 1749, before the people had erected their huts, they, with their priests, excited the Indians to disturb the progress making in building the town, and twice within the space of two years the Indians, with one of the Acadians (named “Beau-Soleil”) at their head, attacked Dartmouth, and put many people to death. The town of Halifax was palisadoed to prevent their irruptions, and no person was in safety who ventured one mile from the town ; and it was to prevent such incursions that a palisadoed block house was erected on the hill near this town, so called from thence ; and, as a further security, a line of palisadoes, with guard-houses, was extended to the head of the North-West Arm.

From this time until the end of the year 1755 this country was kept in an uninterrupted state of war by the Acadians who, following the dictates of the Governors of Quebec and Cape Breton, to break up the English settlements, excited and assisted the Indians to cut off all communication between Halifax and the different parts of the Province ; and in these days letters from the Governor at Halifax to the garrison at Windsor, and the reports of the officer

commanding there, could not be conveyed with a less escort than an officer and thirty men.

In the year 1755 when the French were driven by the English troops from Beausejour—afterwards called Fort Cumberland—six hundred French Acadians appeared in arms against the King's troops. During all the time from 1749, and long before, these people were treated with the utmost lenity, and frequently called on to take the oath of allegiance—for no advantage could be expected from a country unpeopled—but every effort of this kind was in vain.

At length in the middle of the year 1755 the French sent out a considerable squadron of men-of-war with troops on board to Cape Breton. This squadron was commanded by Mons. Hocquart who, with his own ship and another ship of the line, was taken and brought into Halifax by Vice-Admiral Boscawen. In these two ships some thousands of scalping knives were found, which were evidently for no other purpose than to be used against the English—a reward for every English scalp having been paid at Quebec.

At this time Cape Breton, St. John's Island, Canada, and the St. John's River, were in possession of the French; and it was discovered and ascertained by undeniable proof, that detachments were to be made of French troops from the places above mentioned against this Province; and they were in conjunction with the French Acadians, amounting to 8000 men, together with the Indians, to make an attack on Halifax and burn it.

The number of troops in the different parts of the Province, at this time, did not exceed 3000 men—part of which were troops raised in New England.

However, after this discovery the French Acadians were repeatedly called on to give testimony of their fidelity to government; to which requisitions they more than —— usually ostensibly refused. In this situation self-preservation was necessarily to be consulted; and they were sent to the different provinces then under the King's Government, with letters of recommendation: where they were treated with humanity and kindness. Several of them went afterwards to France, where the Minister severely reprehended them for quitting a country under such mild government, where they enjoyed the toleration of their religion. Of these people many returned here and received offers of lands, on condition of becoming good subjects; but they peremptorily refused acknowledging any other than the

French king, and on the invitation of the Count d'Estaing, then Governor of Martinique, they hired vessels and transported themselves to that Island.

Besides the knowledge of several persons now living, who can attest the truth of what has been related, there are records to prove it.

The Abbe Raynal writes in the spirit of a Frenchman disposed to find fault with the English Government, and proud of making historical discovery. But how had he his information? From a French Acadian who complains that he had been treated as a rebellious subject, and with such lenity as is not known under the Government of France.

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ACADIAN HYMNS.

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[The three hymns which the Acadians sung on the last days of their stay in Nova Scotia, in the original French from a stray leaf in the handwriting of Dr. Brown, in the Nova Scotia manuscripts in the British Museum.]

I.

Faux plaisirs, vous sonneurs, bien frivoles  
 Écoutez aujourd'hui nos adieux :  
 Trop long temps vous fîtes nos idoles :  
 Trop long temps vous charmetz nos yeux—  
 Loin de nous la fidèle esperence,  
 De trouver en vous notre bonheur,  
 Avec vous heureux en apparence,  
 Nous portens la chagrin dans le cœur.

II.

Tout passe—  
     Sous le firmament—  
 Tout n'est que changement—  
     Tout passe—  
 Ainsi que sur la *glise*—  
 Le monde va roulant,  
 Et dit en s'écoulant—  
     Tout passe—  
 C'est la m̀erite  
 Hormis l'̀ternitè  
     Tout passe—

Faisons valoir la grâce  
 Le temps est précieux  
 Ouvrez devant nos yeux—  
     Tout passe—  
 Les champs, les rangs  
 Les petits et les grands—  
     Tout passe—  
 D'autres *frequent* la place  
 Et s'en vont a leur tour  
 Dans a mortel séjour  
     Tout passe.

## III.

Vive Jèsus  
 Vive Jèsus  
 Avec la croix son *chère* portage—  
     Vive Jèsus  
 Dans la cœurs de tous les èlus—  
 Sa croix de sou cœur—est le gaye—  
 Futil au plus bel hèritage  
     Vive Jèsus—  
 Portens la croix—  
 Sans choix, sans ènnuie, sans murmure.  
     Portens la croix—  
 Quand nous en servons aux choix  
 Quoique très amère et très dure—  
 Malgré le sous et la nature  
     Portens la croix.

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JUDGE MORRIS' ACCOUNT OF THE ACADIANS, DRAWN UP IN 1753,  
 WITH CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT  
 IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1749, 50, 53.

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In the first place it must be allowed that the causes which have retarded the settlements have been owing, principally, to the disturbances given by the Indian enemy. The advantage a wild people having no settlement or place of abode, but wandering from place to place in unknown and, therefore, inaccessible woods, is so great that it has hitherto rendered all attempts to surprise them ineffectual;

another advantage of retreating under the protection of the French, at their fort at Chignecto, where they cannot be pursued without giving umbrage to the French, nor unless without danger of exposing any party should it be attempted, to be cut off to a man, the French inhabitants, and their neighborhood of Chignecto with the French troops, being always under arms to oppose any attempt that way, so that when they have done mischief they can always retreat there to a place of security. Nor can it be supposed they will be wearied out with such attempts, seeing their subsistence depends upon it,—being wholly supported by the French, and further encouraged by a provision for every scalp and prisoner. The province, therefore, must instead of increasing notwithstanding the constant importation of men decreased as suddenly, for as soon as they have expended the bounty of provisions, the people, for want of employ, to get something for their subsistence, will naturally take the first opportunity to abandon the colony, and embark for the neighboring colonies which abound with plenty of provision, have employment for many more hands than they have, and where they can earn their bread in peace and security.

The living in inclosed towns can give bread to no other than to manufacturers and tradesmen, and not to them unless there be a number of farmers to take their work off their hands, nor even to fishermen unless there be more of substance to employ them, which happens only where is a general trade to procure it.

It is well known as many having left it as have been imported this year, and many more would have done it had it not been for the bounty given for the improvement of lands in and about Halifax, on the peninsula, where they could work with some security—the Indians having never attempted to come so near so numerous a garrison, which has been a support to many laborers.

It is also well known that a wild country, abounding in woods, without any other difficulties to grapple with, can but be a miserable support to its possessors at first, and nothing but an invincible industry, after a number of years, will make their circumstances tolerable, this is a known truth, that among all the settlers there is not one who supports himself by farming, nor will they be able to do it till they can, by taking up those pieces of land which are easy to cultivate, and have advantage of some meadows or marshes, where they can raise hay for the support of a small stock; and no

person has had the courage to attempt this, because this would require their dispersing and living at a distance from each other, and, therefore, while the Indian war subsists, subject to their inhuman murders. This, therefore, being the case, unless some effectual method be taken to curb the Indians, this colony will labor under insuperable difficulties, and be deserted by its inhabitants, or be very expensive to Government in the support of them, for unless they be maintained in this situation they cannot subsist.

Were the French troops removed from the neighborhood of Chignecto, which port they detain contrary to all their treaties, the affair would be at once settled, for the Indians have not means nor cannot support themselves without their assistance, but as this is a matter in dispute between the two Crowns till that difficulty is removed some other expedient will be found necessary.

The manner of intrusting themselves and the course the Indians take to make their inroads on the settlements and fishery being explained, may give some light to a proposal which, if not effectually to deter them from making their attempts, would put them to such inconveniences and difficulties they would be encouraged to attempt but rarely.

The Indians being supplied with provisions at Bay Verte, proceed along the shore of the sea till they come to Tatamagouch, which is ten leagues, they then enter the River Tatamagouch, which is navigable 20 miles for their canoes, where they leave them, and taking their provisions travel about ten miles, which bring them to Cobequid. This takes up about two, sometimes three, days. At Cobequid they are supplied with provision by the French, and where they have canoes concealed by them in which they embark, enter the mouth of Subenaccadie River, and proceed up that river, which is navigable for their small craft about 40 miles, and within ten miles of Dartmouth, here they leave their canoes and proceed by land till they come to the English settlements, and then destroy and *captivate* the people, or by any other branch which goes within a few miles of the sea coast, and in the harbors of which they wait for the fishing schooners—which either shelter them in a storm, or are necessitated to go for wood and water—whose crews are surprised by them and murdered, as many have been this summer. The River Subenaccada arises from from several lakes, some of them situate within two or three miles of Fort Sackville, and from whence such light craft can



embark and proceed through several lakes with two or three carrying places, not half a mile, over into the Subenaccada and from thence down the river into the Basin of Minas. This was always the Indian route when they passed from Cobequid to Gebucto.

The tide flows in the Subenaccada from, its mouth about seven leagues, and then divides itself into two branches, one coming from the before recited lakes, near Fort Sackville, the other from near the sea, not far from great Jedue, about ten leagues eastward of Gebucto, and this is their communication from one side of the country to the other.

It is very evident if a fort was built upon the Subenaccada, below where the two rivers form, it would cut off their communication both with the sea coast and with the English settlements.

It is also evident that if the inhabitants were removed from Cobequid, their means of support among them would cease, they would have none to take care of and secure their canoes, and, consequently, must pass from Tatamagouch River, by land, through the woods, which are almost impossible, above 60 miles, and carry their provisions both for their support out and home, which would put them to such difficulties they would be induced very seldom, if ever, to attempt it, besides such a fort would be a curb and put them in fear of discovery and surprise which so cautious a people will scarce run the hazard of.

A small body of regular troops—a subaltern and 20 men—will always be a sufficient guard for the fort, with part of the Rangers and a number of whale boats to range the river and that part of the bay or, when necessary, they might range the woods also. 'Tis well known that the forts of Minas and Pizaquid have broke the haunts of the Indians on that side, and no attempt has been made that way, but the only difficulty is supplying the fort with provision, the river Subenaccada, when the tides flow, being extremely rapid and dangerous, but as the provision must be always guarded on account of the narrowness of the river, two large, strong, row boats might answer both ends.

JUDGE MORRIS' REMARKS CONCERNING THE REMOVAL OF THE  
ACADIANS.

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[This paper was digested in July, 1755, at the period when the measure was first proposed—probably before it was sanctioned in Council by the approbation of Boscawen and Mostyn. Mr. Morris' remarks concerning the removal of the French inhabitants, the difficulties to be apprehended, and the means of surmounting them. A. B.]

Some reflections on the situation of the inhabitants, commonly called neutrals, and some methods proposed to prevent their escape out of the colony, in case upon being acquainted with the design of removing them, they should attempt to desert over to the French neighboring settlements, as their firm attachment to them may be conjectured to raise in them a strong effort, desire to attempt it.

The greatest district and that which comprehends the most families is that of Minas, to whom belong the inhabitants of the Gaspero. In 1748 they were reported to be in number, upwards of 200 families, of which 180 families live at Minas, 30 on the Gaspero, and about 16 in two small villages on the River Habitants. These all dwell within in the compass of six miles, and occupy for their livelihood and subsistence these marshes which are situated on the Basin of Minas called Grand Prè, on the north of the River Habitants and on the River Gaspero.

The River Canard settlement lies to the south west, and contains about 150 families, of whom 50 live on a point of land lying between the River Habitants and the River Canard; 60 live on the west side of the river in a compact village about two miles from its mouth, and 25 more up the river along the banks on both sides (for the convenience of the marsh) to Penus Mills, which are near the road coming from Annapolis to Minas, and distant from Grand Prè nine miles from the mouth of the Canard to the River of the Neix Habitants, are settled 10 families and 4 or 5 families more at the River Pero. All these inhabitants have by the river aforesaid a communication by water with the Basin of Minas, and some live contiguous to it.

Pezaquid is a settlement south-easterly of Minas, they are scattered in many small villages, the principal of which are those settled on the River Pezaquid, above the confluence of the River St. Croix. On the River St. Croix these are situated between Fort Edward and the district of Minas and southerly towards the road to Halifax. A few small villages belonging to this district are to the east and northward of Fort Edward, and a few families at Cape Fondu—"Fondu" which makes the east head of the great river of Pezaquid. These have all communication by water with the Basin of Minas, and are, in the whole, upwards of 150 families.

Cobequid, it is at present uncertain as to the number of inhabitants, as some have quitted that settlement and gone over to the North Shore, but the several settlements in 1748 were as follows—on the south side of Coopigate Basin—Petit Riviere—4 families; Nela Noel, 7 families; there are west of the Suberaccada, upon the River Suberaccada, two small villages, one near the mouth on the west side, the other on the east side near the confluence of Sherwraick (Stewiack) River, 14 families; east of the Suberaccada Villa Perce Burke, 8 families (in a later copy 10 families); Ville-Michael Oguin, 10 families. These are all the families south of the Basin in an extent of several leagues. On the north side of the Basin Ville Jean Doucet, 4 families; behind Isle Gros., 4 families; at Point Economie from thence to village Ville Jean Burke, 3 leagues east, where is 10 families; another river 2 leagues, called Ville, 9; Burke, 12 families; thence one league to Cove d'Eglise, where is 17 families;  $\frac{1}{2}$  league further is the River Chaginois, where are 15 families—by this river is one passage by which they go to Tatamagouch, a port on the Gulf of St. Lawrence—distant from these houses 30 miles, 12 miles of which they go by water on the River Chaganois; between this and the head of Copegate Basin, which is 2 leagues, dwell about 20 families more. The extent of these north settlements is near 12 leagues—all these have a communication with the Basin of Minas. To this district belonged two small settlements at Tatamagouch, 12 families; and 8 miles westward, at Ramshuk, 6 families. The whole number of families in Copegate district, 142 families.

The district of Annapolis contains about 200 families, they live on both sides of the river from Goat Island to the distance of 24 miles, according to the course of the river, in small villages, the biggest of which is Bell Isle, 10 miles above Annapolis, where are about 25

families; all these inhabitants live near the banks of the river and have no settlements back.

The passages by which they may desert the Colony, and the means of blocking them up.

1st. The inhabitants of Annapolis have but two ways by water through the Gut of Annapolis to the North Shore—2 by land. But if they attempt it by land they must first come to Canard, Minas or Pezaquid. One of the sloops in the government service with whale boats, anchored at the mouth of the Basin of Annapolis would effectually prevent their escape by water, and the road by land is almost, if not altogether, impracticable for families and cattle and effects.

From the Basin of Minas they must pass either thro' the Gut or pass over the River Chignecto on the other side of the Basin, near the Gut, where there is a communication by water by two rivers and a small carrying place into the Basin of Chignecto.

Another vessel anchored in Cove Sabellist would prevent them going either out of the Gut or into the river—because they must pass near them, and could easily be prevented. The other passages by water must be into the Cobequid Basin to the river, can soon reinforce them with numbers sufficient to maintain their ground.

This, therefore, will be the consequence unless timely removed, which can be effected only with a superior force to that which at present is in the colony, for the whole troops together do not exceed 1000 men, and they so separated through the difficulties attending the several parts of the Province, while these traitors are in it, that they cannot be collected and joined without having some or other parts exposed defenceless.

That whilst it continues in this state the settlers will be obliged to confine themselves within their town lots and piquets, and thus rendered incapable of cultivating and improving their lands, and will be induced to seek, repair to the other lots where they may more easily obtain the necessaries of life, rather than bring themselves and families to be thus inhumanly butchered.

THE END.







